NOVEMBER, 1934

Periodical

THE CRISIS

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PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO VOTER

By Oswald Garrison Villard

UNCLE TOM IN HOLLYWOOD

By Loren Miller

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 41, No. 11 *Whole No. 286*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

NEXT MONTH

The December number will have:

●

An article on the Southland Manufacturing Company of Montgomery, Ala., by John P. Davis, who will deal again with the differential wage based on race.

●

A discussion of the Negro and Fascism by Harold Preece, a young white Texan.

●

Further comment by Chauncey Townsend on Negroes in the movies, with special reference to Miss Louise Beavers and Miss Fredi Washington, now appearing in the picture "Imitation of Life."

●

A short piece about a man who saw more in the shoe shining business than just blacking boots all his life.

●

Some brief observations on the early fall football activities in Negro colleges by William (Bill) Gibson of the *Afro-American*, with a longer illustrated article to follow in the January number.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Oswald Garrison Villard was editor for many years of the New York *Evening Post* and *The Nation*. He is still a contributing editor for the latter. He was one of the founders of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1909 and is still a member of the board of directors.

Harvey M. Williamson lives in Cleveland, O., and has attracted attention with his verse, some of which has appeared in THE CRISIS.

Loren Miller is a young lawyer-newspaperman who lives in Los Angeles.

Louise Thompson is employed by the International Workers Order. She has done some organizing work for left wing groups in the South and elsewhere.

Josephine Mildred Buster is a student in Sumner Junior College, Kansas City, Kans.

Walter F. Walker is Liberian consul in New York City.

Best of Luck-A.F.of L..!
"White Labor must smash the
Color Line in it's Own Interest"
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH

This is a truck used by the San Francisco branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in picketing the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor which met in the Pacific coast city the first part of October. The other side of the truck had a similar slogan, demanding the ending of the color line in union labor. In addition to the truck, the branch had pickets parading with placards and newsboys distributing handbills. The picketing plan was suggested by John P. Davis of the Joint Committee in Washington, passed on to the San Francisco branch by the national office, and executed there under the direction of Leland S. Hawkins, branch president.

The Plight of the Negro Voter

By Oswald Garrison Villard

NEVER before has the Negro voter in the North found himself in a worse quandary than today. Whatever the New Deal has done for the white workman it seems to have done less than nothing for the Negro. The NRA has consented to the drawing of a color line in wages, but has otherwise given very little evidence that it is aware of the Negro's existence. Mr. Roosevelt is frankly not interested in the Negro problem; so far as I am aware a study of the Negro situation has not been one of Mrs. Roosevelt's multitudinous activities. The Democratic politicians of the McAdoo, Swanstrom, Pat Harrison, and Robinson of Arkansas type are anti-Negro southerners, and so far as Mr. Roosevelt does not dominate the Democratic party, they do. It was Mr. McAdoo who introduced segregation into the departments at Washington when secretary of the treasury under Mr. Wilson. It is perfectly obvious that the Negro has nothing to gain from the Roosevelt administration except in so far as Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to restore prosperity may benefit all of the people. Some of his agricultural relief measures seem to me to have injured the Negro worker in the South rather than to have helped him.

G. O. P. Offers Nothing

If we look on the other side, the Republicans have absolutely nothing to offer anyone. I have no doubt that they will be willing to make all sorts of campaign and platform promises to the Negro, just as they have in the past, and then fail to live up to them,—also precisely as they have in the past. This party remains more than ever the Party of big business, the great capitalists, the tariff barons, and the people whom Theodore Roosevelt used to call "the malefactors of great wealth." He himself once called it an aggregation of "crooks and thieves." That may have been going pretty far, but certainly having twice been the President of that party he had the right to call himself an expert witness! It is today paying the price of its absolute domination by the predatory capitalists and the crooked bosses whom they maintained and still maintain for it is absolutely destitute of leadership. I wonder if it has ever happened before in our history that we have gone more than half way toward a new Presidential nominating convention with absolutely no outstanding figure being talked about for the Republican nomination. It is simply ridiculous to think of an Ogden Mills, or a Jimmy Wadsworth being put up to run against the magnetic and brilliant personality now in the White House. Yet actually there are no other Republican names being mentioned for the Presidency which are at all known beyond the borders of the state in which the holders of these names reside.

The Democrats, Republicans, Socialists and Communists have little or nothing to offer the Negro voter, declares Mr. Villard, who suggests that later, perhaps, a Negro party may have to be formed by the race for political self-defense

As has so often been said, "you cannot beat something with nothing." Even if the New Deal were every whit as bad as the Republicans claim it is, it cannot be beaten unless the Republicans can offer something constructive to take its place. Just asking for the return of the good old days of Coolidge and Hoover is not going to make the voters give back to them the management of this country. Both Coolidge and Hoover were absolutely unfit men in the White House. Their policies made for our destruction, not for our progress. Whatever the shortcomings of the Roosevelt administration, it is infinitely to be preferred to any repetition of Republican mismanagement such as we had under Coolidge and Hoover. Certainly the Republican party today offers not one thing to the Negro voter to win either his enthusiasm or his confidence.

The Socialists and Communists

As for the Socialist party, that is beyond doubt entirely friendly to the Negro, and wholly without race prejudice. But the situation of the Socialist party is obviously hopeless. If proof were needed of that Upton Sinclair has furnished it in California. He could only poll 30,000 votes when running for governor on the Socialist ticket. He bids fair to sweep the state running on the Democratic ticket with practically the same views. Nowhere is the party making any headway. It is not developing new leaders; if anything should happen to Norman Thomas it would not have a single outstanding figure with an Anglo-Saxon name to nominate for the Presidency. Sound as many of its doctrines are, certain as they are to be adopted in the long run, they cannot be made to appeal to Americans under the name of Socialism. Unjustly enough, the American public has been made to feel that Socialism is a foreign product largely supported by wild foreign immigrants and akin to Anarchism and Bolshevism. The Negro voter can certainly cast his ballot for the Socialists with a clear conscience and with the knowledge that he is helping friends, but if he expects any practical or tangible results he is bound to be disappointed; the Socialist party cannot even elect one congressman.

As for the Communists, I know that their doctrines are in many aspects especially appealing to the Negro. Yet if I were a Negro it would be the last Party for which I should consider voting. I am not ready to abandon democracy, nor am I willing to throw in my lot with a leadership that believes in violence, in a class war, in revolution by murder and theft, in the wiping out of everyone who stands in its way. Its leadership in the United States is insignificant, almost beneath contempt. The Russians themselves have no faith in it, and little good opinion of it. Its actions towards its opponents on the Left is destitute of justice and fairplay and any willingness to cooperate. Even though I believed that Communism was the eventual solution of the world economic problem I could not tie myself up with the party as it is now constituted in the United States, and I should most earnestly urge every Negro not to think of joining this party and cutting loose from the American democratic ideal, even though we have not lived up to that ideal. I know that if William Lloyd Garrison, my grandfather, were alive today he would give the same counsel. It is inconceivable that he would ally himself with men who avowedly are bound neither by ethics nor good faith in the development of their policies.

A Negro Party, Perhaps

Under the circumstances it is extremely difficult to give any advice to the Negro voter. It would seem as if he ought to be guided by the situation in the particular district in which he resides. For example, if he lives in Minnesota his natural course would be to support the Farmer-Labor party. If he votes in California his refuge would be Upton Sinclair. In a state like Colorado where there is no difference whatever between the Democratic and

(*Continued on page* 336)

The Old Woman

By Harvey M. Williamson

PENNY SHOTWELL brought his automobile to a stop before a tumbled down cabin and climbed from beneath the steering-wheel. The thick gray dust of the road, stirred from its rest by the automobile, closed silently around the machine and settled slowly back to earth. Penny stood for a moment, wiping his sweat-beaded face with a white handkerchief and squinting at the cabin through the somber brilliance of the August afternoon.

There was something greedy about Penny, something greedy and unhealthy and soft like the white belly of a frog. He was short and bloated, with thick soft hands whose palms were moist and white. In one corner of his flaccid lips, a cigarette dangled, trailing a thin wisp of smoke about his fat jowls.

There was an air of evil and decay about the cabin. It squatted at the end of a path that led from the road, through waist-high jimson weeds, to its open door. Thick vines almost covered the walls and twined tightly about the dirt chimney that reared above the cypress-shingled roof. Desolation and evil seemed to encompass the place like thick walls, shutting out the living world.

Penny flicked away his cigarette and started down the path to the cabin. As he walked toward the house, its evil seemed a tangible thing to him. He could feel it close about him tighter and tighter, pulling him forward with urgent hands through the oppressive waves of the jimson weeds's sour, sickening smell. Step by step, some inner mind seemed to measure his progress toward the cabin, and his shadow walked beside him like an omen.

At the threshold, he paused and peered into the cabin. From its interior a wave of mouldy odor crept slowly up about him. An eerie dimness and a thick, dust-coated silence filled the room. Save the door in which he stood, there was no entrance or opening to the cabin. In the center of the one medium-sized room, two cane-bottomed chairs stood beside a homemade table, whose chief ornament was a tin lantern. A bunk-like bed stood in one corner of the room, and the walls were hung with dried roots and pods which spread the mouldy odor everywhere. Across one end of the room extended a deep fire-place in which lay a thick carpet of gray ashes. Seated before this fire-place, in a homemade rocker, was an old Negro woman.

Unconscious of Penny's eyes, the Old Woman sat in her chair with a statue-like intensity, moving no muscle of her

Do you believe in voodoo? Neither does the editor, but here is a story—

wraith-like body. Time had long since done its worst to her. She was so old her skin resembled dried-up leather. Her head was wrapped in a dirty rag, and her gingham dress had been faded by age. Despite her age and frailness, there was about her an intangible strength that her claw-like hands, her withered skin, and the walking-stick beside her chair belied.

FOR a moment, Penny gazed at her silently. His mind was busy with remembering, busy marshalling the things he had heard of this old woman. Rumor said that she was a voodoo woman, a priestess of a cult whose roots lay somewhere in the bosom of Africa. How long she had lived in this little cabin, weaving a sinister reputation of secretive evil, nobody could remember. But everybody feared her and her charms. From her cabin, squatting at the edge of town, evil seemed to emanate in an ever widening circle. Here amid her weeds and desolation she dwelt like a malevolent spider, with all the town of Benson enmeshed in her web of superstitious fear.

At last, Penny cleared his throat and spoke to her. "Hello, Auntie," he said. "It's a hot day, isn't it?"

With a slow owl-like movement of her head, the Old Woman turned to look at him. There was no haste or surprise in her movement. Wraith-like, toothless, unperturbed, she regarded the disturber of her peace with slow, unwinking eyes. Beneath her scrutiny Penny was restless. There was something in her eyes that he did not understand, something potent and malevolent, something evil and hard that was incongruous in the eyes of a woman whose face looked like a corrugated mask.

At last, she answered him in a high voice that rasped his nerves like the sound of a nail scratching tin. "Hit's the hotes' day I ever seed in Benson and I done live here thutty year," she said. Then she closed her mouth, and he was not sure from which wrinkle her voice had issued.

"Well, if you've been here that long," he said, removing his hat and wiping the damp inner band, "you oughta know something about the weather hereabouts in the Delta. Thirty years is quite some time. But what I came to tell you, Auntie, is that I've bought this place and you'll have to move. I'll let you have till Wednesday to get your things together."

For a moment, the Old Woman sucked her gums and the wrinkles seemed to move across her face in a spasmodic wave. "But," she said, "this is my house, whiteman. I done live here thutty year."

"I can't help how long you've been here," he said. "I'm going to build a house here and I'll have to tear down this shack. Take some of that money you've got buried and buy yourself a house some where else."

The Old Woman's black eyes seemed to contract to sharp, brilliant points. "I ain't got nary a cent buried," she returned, reaching for her walking stick and getting slowly to her feet. "And iffn I did, I wouldn't move."

"Well, have it your own way," Penny replied. "But if you aren't out of here by day after tomorrow, I'll have the marshal throw you out."

The Old Woman hobbled slowly toward the door. She had been an unusually tall woman in her prime, and even now when she was bent by age, she was taller than Penny, tall enough to look down upon him. "Iffn you do," she promised, her words dripping like melting ice, "I'll put a curse on you."

For a moment, silence was like a chasm between them. "Aw, cut it out," Penny said finally. "You can't scare me, Auntie. I ain't no nigger. You get out of here by Wednesday or I'll throw you out."

"Supposin'," she said as he was about to turn away. "Supposin'," she repeated quietly, coldly, "that I was to pay you. Could I stay here then?"

He turned back to the door, his little pig-eyes alight with interest. "How much could you pay?"

"I ain't knowing yit," she replied. "But iffn you could come by here tomorrow you could git the money."

"All right," Penny agreed, "If you've got enough, I'll let you stay a while longer. But you be sure to have that money when I come."

He turned away down the path, his wrinkled seersucker trousers exposing a vast amount of sock at every step. He was disappointed. He had gone to the cabin expecting a woman more fearsome, more evil, more in keeping with the evil reputation that surrounded her. He had found a wrinkled crone whose

sinister appearance was the result of dirt and age. He sucked his soft lips and smiled, thinking of the fat profit he would make on that property, thinking what fools his fellow townsmen had been to let their fear prevent them from evicting the Old Woman and making the profit. There was nothing about the Old Woman to justify such fear, nothing save her malevolent eyes. At the memory of her eyes, cold, potent, implacable, a sudden dryness filled his throat.

WHEN he returned the next afternoon, the Old Woman was seated before her cold fire-place as though she had never moved. He wondered if her fire-place were ever ablaze, if she ever cooked in it, if she ever did anything except sit before it, peering into the cold gray ashes. When he entered, she turned her eyes toward him. There was neither thought or human warmth in their black depths, only an incongruous clarity, only a quiet lucidity that could not be clouded by human emotion. He stiffened unconsciously as he gazed in their pellucid depths.

"Did you get the money?" he asked suddenly. Without a word she reached down beside the chair in which she sat and offered him a tin can. He took it, glanced at the silver and crumpled currency it contained, and weighed it in his hands. "How much you got here?" he demanded.

"I don't jest rightly know," she replied, her eyes motionless with waiting. "I ain't never counted hit. But you gwine let me stay, aincha, whiteman?"

It was not a question she asked. He felt somehow that it was a statement of fact. "Yeah, I reckon so, if you've got enough money here," he replied. Then he turned and went back down the path to his car, feeling a sudden release when he turned away from her eyes. But he could not forget them. They proceeded him along the path to his car, staring at him, watching him, unwinking and implacable.

ON Wednesday morning Luke Pudley, the town marshal, evicted the Old Woman. Accompanied by Jack Murdy, he rattled up to the cabin in his Ford touring car and lifted his lank form over the door. While he waited for Jack to clamber out also, he pushed his straw hat to the back of his head and rolled a cigarette. "The Old Woman," he remarked to Jack, nodding toward the cabin, the bag of Bull Durham dangling from one corner of his cruel mouth, "oughta been put outa here years ago. Course I couldn't do nothing lessen some owner asked me to. But niggers," he continued, licking his cigarette paper, "living on this side of town is outa their place."

Jack took a plug of tobacco from the pocket of his faded overalls and bit off a chew. "Maybe the other owners was scared to put her out," he said, regarding the cabin with his washed-out blue eyes. "I'd hate to have her hoodooing me."

"Aw, hell!" Luke said. "Ain't nothing to that nigger hoodoo. Anyway if she does hoodoo anybody, it'll be Penny and not us. Come on, let's get it over with."

"K. O." Jack agreed. "There might not be nothing to it, but I'd hate to have the Old Woman working it on me."

The Old Woman was seated in her accustomed chair, snoring softly when they entered. Luke shook her chair. "Wake up, Auntie," he said.

She stopped snoring and raised her head. Then she sat regarding them with her enigmatic eyes, silent, waiting.

"We've got to put you outa here," Luke said.

"What you wanta put me outa here for, whiteman?" the Old Woman demanded in a fretful voice. "I done paid money to stay here."

"Who'd you pay, Auntie?" Luke asked.

"I paid a white gemmun. He say he gwine let me stay."

"Well, he cheated you outa your money, Auntie. But I've got to put you outa here."

"I'll put a curse on him," she said, her face freezing slowly into mask-like stiffness, each word falling like a little ball of quicksilver. "I'll put a curse on him."

"You better be careful how you throw your curses about," Luke said, beginning to collect her scanty belongings. "One day you'll put your curse on the wrong man."

She turned her face toward the fireplace and lapsed into silence, unaware, it seemed, of the two men who were moving her belongings into the road. Piece by piece, they cleared the room until only the chair in which she sat remained. Then Luke said to the Old Woman, "You'll have to go, too, Auntie." She made no reply. "All right," he said. "If you won't go, we'll have to tote you." Then he and Jack, taking the chair between them, carried it and its occupant out of the cabin, down the path, and placed them beneath a ragged elm tree beside the road. The Old Woman's expression did not change. They left her there, her face stiff and mask-like, her eyes wide and empty and cold.

"What'll become of the old hag?" Jack asked, mopping his brow while they stood beside their car a moment before departing. "It's a sorta dirty trick, putting her out into the road like this. She must be eighty years old."

"Aw, forget her," Luke advised, rolling another cigarette. "The niggers'll take care of her. Let her spend some of that money she's got buried. Come on, let's get outa here. I can't get that smell outa my nose."

FOR a long time the Old Woman sat motionless, like a humped, lifeless shadow beneath the elm tree. The sun edged across the sky toward the western horizon. When over the weeds, whose leaves had curled upward about the edges from the heat, the shadow of the old elm lay like a path of darkness, she seemed to come to life again. With infinite patience and strength of which her withered body gave no hint, she began to move her belongings back to the cabin. Her eyes gleamed with a strange potency as she wearily returned every piece to its accustomed place. Darkness fell before she finished dragging her things down the weedy path. But at last her task was complete, and she shut her door upon the night.

That night Penny Shotwell died. He awoke suddenly in the middle of the night, crying aloud and clawing at his breast. A hastily summoned physician muttered vaguely of acute indigestion. But Penny would not have it so. He paced blindly about the room in his baggy pajamas, with his mouth wide and gasping, and his bloated body writhing in pain. He cried, "You're a lie, I tell you! The old hag's put a curse on me! She's doing something to my heart! Christ! Do something quick. Do something quick!" But despite the doctor's efforts, Penny Shotwell died.

That night the Old Woman died, also. The exertion of replacing her belongings had been too much for her. They found her the next morning cold and lifeless, seated before the fireplace in her accustomed chair. But there were embers in the fireplace now, embers and an iron cross standing upright among them. On the cross hung the clay figure of a man, baked and blackened by the flames, with two sharp needles in its breast.

Submission

By THEODORE ANTHONY STANFORD

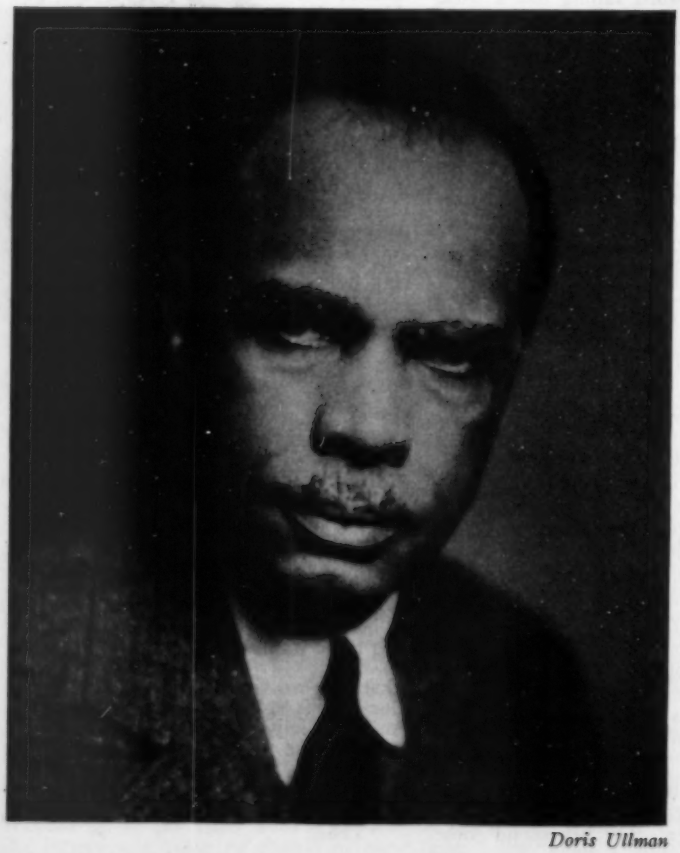
I HOLD your memory, a sacred flame,
Unto the dim lamp of my loneliness,
Sighing that all too soon the radiance
Of my first love found its oblivion.
The ageless weaver, tireless at his loom,
Mingled the rich gossamer of our dreams
With stuff too pale and fragile to withstand
The bleak winds of a dark adversity.

That now we view the crumbled ruins of
Our dreams so helplessly, I blame not you
And, certainly, not I; but bow to Fate—
For e'en the rock-ribbed caves of ocean change
The shape and hue of their impermanence
Before the rhythmic wish of tide and Time.

Distinguished Americans

James Allen

LOUIS TOMPKINS WRIGHT, M.D., was elected last month as a Fellow in the American College of Surgeons, and on October 19 in Boston, Mass., was formally received into the college and invested with his robe. The late Dr. Daniel H. Williams of Chicago was the only other colored member of the college. Dr. Wright was graduated from the Harvard medical school and served in the World war as a captain in the medical corps. He has done much original research in surgery, especially in skull fractures, and has contributed articles to leading surgical journals. He is a member of the surgical staff at Harlem hospital and a police surgeon of the City of New York with the rank of inspector. He is a member also of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



Doris Ullman

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON is a guest professor this fall at New York university, giving a series of ten lectures on the contributions of American Negroes to civilization. Mr. Johnson is Spence Professor of Creative Literature at Fisk university. In the literary world he is known for his "Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man," "God's Trombones," "Black Manhattan," and his autobiography, "Along This Way," published last year. His newest book, "Negro Americans, What Now?" was published October 22 by Viking Press. Mr. Johnson has been American consul to Nicaragua and was an American delegate to the Institute of Pacific Relations which met in Tokyo in 1929. He was secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during the years of the slashing attacks on lynching, and is now a vice-president of the association.

Southern Terror

By Louise Thompson

"BIRMINGHAM is a good place for good niggers—but a damn bad place for bad niggers."

Thus spoke the officialdom of Birmingham, Ala., to me last May, and in the course of my experience there I learned what they meant. I was arrested as I went to enter the apartment of a woman whom I had known in the North. It so happened that the red squad was raiding her apartment at the time, and as I knocked at the door it was opened by a policeman who brusquely ordered me in. I did so, and was immediately placed under arrest. As they fired questions at me, one officer interrupted to ask:

"Gal, where you from? I know you ain't from around here 'cause you don't talk like it."

"My home is California," I answered.

"California, hell! You're one of those ——— yankee ———, that's what you are!"

And with a few more remarks quite in keeping with the above they loaded me into the "black wagon," along with the other persons in the apartment at the time, and off to the city jail we went. I was promptly locked up, with no chance given me to communicate with friends or an attorney. My attempts to question the procedure met with laughter or taunts from my jailers. "Held for investigation," I learned later from my cellmates.

I spent the night with fourteen other Negro women held on charges ranging from drunkenness and pickpocketing to murder. One of the women was demented, and the two of us kept vigil that night, she, walking the floor and raving; I, wondering what was to happen to me on the morrow and what my friends would think when I did not return home that night.

The long night finally ended. Breakfast of huge soda biscuits, beans and a colored water which passed for coffee. Then I was called out, again taken for a ride in the patrol to the identification department for fingerprinting and "mugging" for the rogues' gallery. Though I was being accorded the treatment of a criminal I had yet to know what I was being held for, and when I would be permitted to communicate with the outside world.

During the cross examination which followed, my questioners were inclined at first to make a joke of the affair, taunting me about "my comrades," slyly alluding to some intimate relationship

Miss Thompson is the leading colored woman in the Communist movement in this country. Her account recalls the early days of the N.A.A.C.P. in the South, when Secretary John R. Shilladay was beaten up as he stepped from a train in Austin, Tex., and put aboard the next train out

with the men arrested with me, and the like. But upon my refusal to answer any more questions until I had an opportunity to consult an attorney, their taunts turned to open threats which ran something like this:

"What about turning this gal over to the Ku Klux Klan? I reckon they know how to handle her kind."

"Yeah, or a little tar and feathering might help."

"How about talking to her through the rubber tube. She might be glad to talk then." (I later learned that "talking through the rubber tube" meant beating with a rubber hose in the third degree.)

Again, one officer turned to me, pointing his finger and said: "See here, gal, you're arrested now, see. And you say 'yes sir' and 'no sir'." I was told later by some of the women prisoners that I was lucky not to have been slapped down when I refused to obey.

Eleven-notch Gun

Later in the day my friends finally succeeded in getting an attorney in to see me, after reading in the papers of the raid. He immediately prepared a writ of habeas corpus to force the placing of a charge against me or my release. And again I rode from the city jail to Jefferson county courthouse where the Scottsboro boys are imprisoned. There I was turned over to the prize red baiter and "nigger" hater of the plainclothes squad, Moser, who boasts of eleven notches in his gun for helpless Negroes he has shot down. These were his words of welcome:

"So you're one of those ——— reds what thinks you are going to get social equality for niggers down here in the South. Well, we think Communists are lower than niggers, down here—fact is, we don't even allow them to 'sociate with white folks, let alone have white folks 'sociating with niggers. We know how to treat our niggers down here and we ain't going to stand for no interference from you ——— yankee reds. We ought to handle you reds like Mussolini does 'em in Italy—take you out and shoot you against a wall. And I sure would like to have the pleasure of doing it."

With which this "protector of law and order" escorted me to the courtroom where I was to meet my attorney for a hearing on the habeas corpus proceedings. When my attorney read the writ, Moser triumphantly stepped up to the judge with a warrant for my arrest as a "vagarant." Vagrancy is that convenient catch-all which serves all purposes.

My bail was set for $300 cash, my trial for ten days hence. On the tenth day I entered the courtroom and took my seat on the side for Negroes to await the calling of my case. Surrounding the judge were a group of officers and others, whom I learned later to be members of the White Legion. From time to time they would suggest to the judge or prosecutor questions to be asked the Negro prisoners appearing before the bar of "justice." The word "nigger" rang out from lips of judge, solicitor, officers, White Legionnaires every second. Any attempt on the part of a Negro prisoner to dispute testimony against him was met by, "Nigger, do you dare to dispute the word of a white man?", or simply by loud bursts of laughter. Here was "southern justice" undisturbed by any militant interference!

My case was finally called and I stood before Judge Abernathy. The White Legion boys drew a little nearer, the police officers stepped up to testify. All eyes were focused upon me. The judge then listened to the testimony of the arresting officer, embellished with a few points to win the laughing approval of the crowd about the bench. Meanwhile the judge fingered the documents which disproved any charge of vagrancy against me, my status as a representative of the International Workers Order, the articles of incorporation which permit my organization to operate under state law, cancelled checks for my weekly wages. He looked at me in-

FASCISM

What is it? If it comes to America, how will it affect the Negro? Read "Fascism and the Negro" by Harold Preece in the December CRISIS, out November 21.

tently and then asked of the crowd about him:

"Wonder where this gal is from? Looks like she came from Mississippi—that's the way they mix up down there. Course it's got nothing to do with the case, but I'm going to ask her where she was born as I'm mighty interested in how these mixtures turn out." And to me, "Where were you born, gal?"

With no further questioning, the case was dismissed with the Judge declaring, "You can't arrest the gal for being an octoroon."

"No, she can't help that," was Moser's parting shot.

I was not yet entirely free for another warrant was produced to arrest me on the charge of concealing my identity. A few days later, however, this second case was thrown out of court without my having to appear again.

The Bourbon authorities learned that the workers throughout the country were ready to apply their weapon of mass pressure against my arrest—and their experience with the Scottsboro case, with the Herndon case, made them cautious. They wanted stronger grounds to prepare another frame-up against a Negro engaged in working class activity.

The White Legion

Thus did I learn from first hand experience of the kind of "justice" meted out to Negroes in the South, of the unswerving determination of the servants of the State and of vested interests to keep the Negro people in utter subjection. And more, of the treatment of those who would help the Negro people in their fight for emancipation from this oppression. All the others arrested with me were white, yet they fared no better than I did, for as Communist suspects they are bitterly hated and granted no more constitutional rights than are given Negroes in the South. Being a Communist in the South is synonymous with being a fighter for the rights of the Negro people, of being a "nigger lover," of trying to bring white and Negro workers and poor farmers together—of fighting against lynching, of challenging the southern ruling class' traditional manner of treating Negroes. John Howard Lawson, prominent Hollywood playwright, who came to Birmingham to write up the terror was arrested as he left Jefferson county courthouse, fingerprinted and "mugged" and ordered from town. When he returned later with a delegation of liberals he was arrested again and charged with libel for telling the truth about the terror of Birmingham's police and White Legion.

A word or two about the White Legion, this openly Fascist organization in Birmingham whose stated purpose is to fight communism and any move to lift oppression from the backs of the Negro people. Its membership fee is $5.00, which of course precludes any worker members. As a matter of fact it recruits its members from the officials of the city, merchants and other middle class elements. It maintains an office on one of the main streets of Birmingham and displays in the front window Communist leaflets and any material from the Negro or revolutionary press which advocates equal rights for Negroes. One week they displayed a picture of Langston Hughes with his poem *An Open Letter to the South*, in which Hughes appeals to Negro and white labor to unite in struggle for a better world. The comment scrawled along the margin was: "If this bird thinks we are going to have social equality in the South, he's crazy!"

During the height of the terror against the Negro and militant white workers, the White Legion issued highly inflammatory leaflets seeking to provoke white against Negro workers. One such leaflet included this statement: "How would you like to awaken one morning to find your wife or daughter attacked by a Negro or a Communist!" It wound up with an appeal to pay the membership fee so that the White Legion could handle such situations in the traditional manner. During the planning of action against the class-conscious workers of Birmingham, one wing of the Legion was for riding through the Negro neighborhood and shooting indiscriminately into the homes of innocent Negroes, but cooler heads in the gang realized that such an extreme form of terror was a bit premature.

"Social Equality"

The southern press also played its part well during the reign of terror which did not end with our arrests, but went on in a series of raids upon the homes of workers over the entire city. The mining strike was at its height in Birmingham and for the first time Negro and white workers were militantly picketing together. The daily press came out with scare heads of "red violence" and "red plots" and references to "social equality." One paper carried a story of a raid upon a Negro home which produced a "highly inflammatory" document—it was the Bill of Civil Rights calling for full political, economic and social equality for the Negro people. Yet those papers which went beyond the borders of the state carried not a line of the raids, the arrests, or the general terror.

That the press, the White Legion and the government officials always link the "reds" and Communism with the Negro question is not a mere coincidence. First of all, the International Labor Defense through the Scottsboro case has aroused the Negro people and rallied to their defense workers over the whole world. And it is the Communist Party which has analyzed the Negro question as that of an oppressed nation of people, defined the alignment of class forces for and against the Negro people's struggle for liberation, and begun the organization of white and Negro working masses together. Revolutionary leaders in the South are boldly defying all that the southern ruling class has striven to perpetuate, and terror and jail bars do not stop them. Down in the heart of Dixie, the Black Belt, some 8,000 sharecroppers have organized a militant Sharecroppers Union to fight the starvation program of the A.A.A. which deputy sheriffs' bullets have been unable to stop.

It is another matter, however, when organizations within the Negro group come forward as vehemently against any show of militancy on the part of the Negro masses and with as great enmity against a revolutionary program and revolutionary organizations as is expressed in the White Legion of Birmingham. Such organizations disregard the economic roots of the Negro's oppression, and through collaboration with the ruling class seek to restrain the masses of Negroes from militant struggle. Such organizations accept the present system of capitalism and are willing to be satisfied with what hollow reforms may come without any fundamental change.

Revolution Called Necessity

But it is impossible to take one step in the direction of winning for the Negro people their elementary rights that is not revolutionary. Capitalism developed in America upon the super-exploitation of the Negro people and through the division created between white and Negro labor. Any attempt to end this super-exploitation, to destroy the enmity and to unite Negro and white labor is a blow at American capitalism. So it is that the southern ruling class is not going to budge from its position of exploiting and oppressing the Negro people. And behind the southern Bourbons stand the amassed strength of American finance capital—U. S. Steel, Wall Street investments in the plantations of the South, and the like. Any organizations among the Negro people which do not point out these class alignments must therefore become the voice of reaction in the midst of a people struggling for freedom. So it is that the leadership among the Negro people must pass into new hands—into the hands of working class leaders, the Angelo Herndons, who will not be stopped by jail, by a desire to cling on to jobs, by death itself in leading the Negro people through the final conflict to complete emancipation.

Uncle Tom in Hollywood

By Loren Miller

It is high time the American Negro took up arms on the Hollywood front, according to this Californian, to check the poisonous pictures of himself being sent to all parts of the globe

A FEW years ago I attended a showing of Trader Horn, a Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film, at a Negro theater. One scene depicts the "beautiful"—of course, blond—heroine in the clutches of "savage" Africans. In typical Hollywood thriller style the girl is saved just as all hope is ebbing away. At this particular showing the audience burst into wild applause when the rescue scene flashed on the screen. I looked around. Those who were applauding were ordinary Negro working people and middle class folk. Hollywood's movie makers had made the theme so commonplace and glorious that it seemed quite natural white virtue should triumph over black vice. Obviously those spectators were quite unconscious of the fact that they were giving their stamp of approval to a definite pattern of racial relationships in which they are always depicted as the lesser breed.

Unwritten, but iron clad rules in the movie industry require that films in which racial relationships are depicted show the white man as the overlord. Ordinarily Negroes get servant parts in which they are either buffoons or ubiquitous Uncle Toms. A written section of the code forbids the showing of miscegenation. Where there is racial clash as in "Birth of a Nation" the Negro is pictured as vicious and depraved. Occasional pictures such as "Hallelujah" or "Hearts in Dixie" purport to treat Negro life seriously but even there the economic roots of the Negro question are carefully avoided and the Negro is shown as a lowly, loyal and contented fellow happy in his lot.

Depict Negro to World

News reels poke fun at Negro revivals or baptisings and avoid such "dangerous" subjects as the Scottsboro case. I heard dozens of administration spokesmen pleading for pet Roosevelt legislation or unimportant special laws but I did not hear a single lawmaker plead for the anti-lynching bill during the past year.

The cumulative effect of constant picturization of this kind is tremendously effective in shaping racial attitudes. Hollywood products are seen in every nook and corner of the world. Millions of non-residents of the United States depend almost entirely on the movies for their knowledge of Negro life, as those who have been abroad can testify. Other millions of white Americans of all ages confirm their beliefs about Negroes at the neighborhood theaters while Negroes themselves fortify their inferiority complex by seeing themselves always cast as the underdog to be laughed at or despised.

Although the Hollywood portrayal of Negro life is so out of focus that it is in effect rabid anti-Negro propaganda, it would be unfair to tax the movie magnates with inventing their product out of whole cloth. It is easy enough to see that the movies but reflect the traditional American outlook on the Negro question. By giving that tradition wide and effective circulation and by implying its artistic truthfulness, the movie makers are certainly doing more than their share to whip up prejudice and making the breakdown of racial chauvinism more difficult. Of course, Hollywood excuses its actions on the grounds that it is merely supplying the audiences with what they want. The argument is ingenious and plausible enough until one remembers how the movies consciously set out to mold public sentiment, as they did in the last war in the face of an overwhelming pacifist spirit among the American people. The differences in treatment of the Massie and the Scottsboro cases also illustrate the fact that the movies are deliberately used to further causes dear to the hearts of those who control them.

At the present time the movie makers are being attacked by a group of moralists in an effort to force them to make "clean" films. Negroes can expect little from this crusade because the moralists themselves define "cleanliness" in traditional terms. The Catholics, for example, list the showing of miscegenation as objectionable along with perversion and sexual intercourse. Another plumed knight of the crusade is William Randolph Hearst, an accomplished race baiter whose newspapers are distinctly unfriendly to all colored peoples. Hardly an organization enlisted in the present purity drive is opposed to Jim Crow and all that it means. The Negro will have to fend for himself. And he will learn that the opposition is formidable.

Business-Political Alliance

Those who control the movies are powerful in other phases of American life. The Chase National Bank, controlled by the Rockefellers, has its hands on a half dozen studios. A manual of corporate directorates will reveal the fact that movie boards interlock with those of other basic monopolies. The political tie-up is as plain. Louis B. Mayer of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayers, is the personal friend of Herbert Hoover and a power in Republican politics. Jack Warner of Warner Brothers is commonly reputed to be the Roosevelt spokesman in Hollywood. These all powerful business men-politicians direct the destinies of the film world. The pictures they produce accord roughly yet firmly with their politico-economic outlook. Certainly, these men are farsighted enough to realize that the movies are valuable aids in preserving the

(*Continued on page* 336)

The Cover

Oze Simmons, right half back of the University of Iowa football team, is receiving more attention in college football this fall than any player since the great Red Grange. He is a sophomore at Iowa and in his first Big Ten game against Northwestern on October 6, he gained 175 yards of the total of 233 gained by his team from scrimmage. Iowa won, 20-7. Dick Hanley, Northwestern coach, says of him:

"I have seen and played against a lot of great backs, but Simmons is 'tops'—absolutely the best I've ever seen. Our scouts warned us . . .we actually surrounded him several times. . .and you saw what he did. He fielded the ball like an outfielder with those big hands, pivoted, circled and fled away from tacklers. . .fooled them with the most nearly perfect change of pace I ever saw."

Hanley's Northwestern team has played all the big teams in the last fifteen years, including the great Knute Rockne's best Notre Dame elevens. So Simmons must be good. Simmons hails from Fort Worth, Tex.

Some Work for the F.E.R.A.

These are human documents indicating how far the Federal Emergency Relief Administration will have to go beyond mere routine work if it is to bring even a bare existence to the forgotten colored people in the South, and especially the rural South

....., Ala.

April 27, 1934

N.A.A.C.P. DEAR SIR:—Please allow me to present a question to you which with myself is very important because I am one of the persons of families that is in very bad need of aid an up to this date have been denied so it have retch the stage that something must be did. It is a well known fact that one cannot live without food and clothes so a friend and myself being among the unemployed and is not getting any aid so far from the public welfare of this county is asking for aid or information about aid from some sorce. Will you see after this matter at once. We get a small order some time and for months can't get anything. Its awful bad to wait for someone who does not care to give you food. Is not there some way or some sorce that we colored people can overcome being shadowed by starvation and depending on something that will not give you food. Please inform me at once if there is any other sorce of getting any relief. We are depending on you for relief or information as to where we might get food. We must have something at once. Please let me know at once.

We will be waiting an answer from you.

Very truly yours,

.....

P.S. We are men of families.

....., Ga.

Jan. 24, 1934

DEAR SIR: — Sometime ago about 6 or 7 wekes ago my boy went up in town to sign to get on the releaf work to get some of the govnor money he was out of a job and I am a poor widder woman with a house full of little childrens and a cripple girl to take ceare of they woulden let him sign the white peoples knocked him down run him out of town woulden let him com back to town he went back to town in about 5 weakes they got after him agin about a hundred head of white mens with knives and they run him all ove town they cout him they throwed him in the back of a truck hog fashon he got out som way they put a Bulldog on him then he ran in a stor then som of the collord mens beg the cheef police to put him in jale to keepe the mob from killing him the cheaff say let them kill him just so they dont mobb him heare in town the night marshell put him in jale for safe keeping and I hade to pay him $5.00 to get him out and he had to leave town dont be see heare no more if they see him enny more they will sure kill him he left in the night walking with no money I wont able to gave him nothing and I want him to help me that is my sun he is just 17 years old.

Just write to help me if you all please take up far me and help me I am his mother my name is .....

....., Miss.

April 30, 1934

DEAR SIR: This is ..... asking for help for my mother her name is ..... So she says that her age is 84. She says that she was 9 years old when Peace declaired you can tell from that just how ole she is she was large enough to carry water in the time of the War & now she is here sick in bed & has been since February the 25. & I have ben to the Red Cross & also the Relief ofice asking for help & they would not help me with a Dr & neither did they fill a medical prescription for me after the Dr. come to my call she is yet sick & haven got shoes or close & a very little to eat & I am her daughter I haven got work to do to help my self out in paying house rent & nothing in my house to eat & no close to wear The relief has never give me one yrd of cloth & neither a pair of shoes since they started this work up here in .....

I have 3 in family my mother & myself & one child & the child only makes $1.50c one dollar & fifty cts (a week) & you knows without me telling you that will not pay rent & get close & make Grocery we are sufering here I will speak the truth. I haven got bread in my home to eat & nothing to buy it with. The relief give me 3 days work last week for the first time & no Grocery at all & I had to gave that to the rent man I ows him this morning $12.00 twelve dollars & he is telling me today if I can not pay the rent to give him his house what must I do I am renting from a man by the name of ..... Please help me & famely at once.

From .....

....., Miss.

Mar. 22, 1934

N.A.A.C.P. GENTLEMEN:—In reply to yours of the 8th Inst. to making reports on conditions that exists against our people under the N.R.A. and other relief agencies in this City. I will say that they are very bad. One of the cases is that of a man of our race about 65 or 70 yrs. of age with 8 in family his name is ..... He was threatened with arrest for pressing the relief agency for assistance. He wanted food for himself and family. He is in bad health, Miss ....., who is managing the relief here is the one that threatened to arrest him because he insisted on them to give him food. Later she became more vexed at him and taken him in her Machine to a Pecan Factory. and offered him to the management for 60c per day. Which he refused and told her that the Factory was not working according to the Code. Mr. ..... has been refused assistance on Two occasions that he applied. From the same office. He has also been registered with the Government Re-employment Office since the first opening, and up to now has not had a days work. He has a wife a Mother-in-law 77 yrs. old. and no job, no relief, he has not had work for 3½ yrs.

.....

....., La.

Feb. 13, 1934

N.A.A.C.P. YOUR HONOR:—I am writing you asking you if you will through your honorable organization assist me in procuring work on the C.W.A. P.W.A. or Direct relief. I have been deprived of work since Oct. 20th 1933. All because I wrote several letters to Washington asking for work. I registered with the N.R.S. about Nov. 13, 1933. and just because I wrote those letters to Washington that office refused to call me out on any job. Being denied of work so long I was forced to apply for direct relief and the woman Parrish director of the E.R.A. told me because I had quit a job in Sept. that only paid me $2.00 per week 10-to-14 hours per day and because I had written several letters to Washington reporting this office she said you will not get any direct relief here. I will show you that

you cannot run this office. You have been quarrelling with this office all the year. I will show you that you can't run this office. I have explained the situation to every legal authority I knew, even the President and the F.C.W.A. and the F.C.W.A. of La. and the E.R.A. of La. and the only thing that I can get is an answer as though I am seeking information. I am not seeking information I am asking for justice. Now since I cannot of myself get justice I am asking you to take this matter up with the legal authority of this country. I am enclosing a few letters received from Washington and New Orleans but such letters dont help me any I need food and raiment for my wife and children. I have not had one day of relief work since Oct. 20th 1933.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

.....

....., South Carolina
June 11, 1934

DEAR SIR:—I am writing you these few lines ask you if it is any possible chance of you fining out just why F.E.R.A. office here in ..... refuse to gave me work when I have six in family to care for and also my wife's mother who is over 65 years old and been under the Doctor care for the past seven years of course my wife has a little job but its not with the relief work which some weeks she make five dollars and some weeks less with four children to take care off which range in age 8-6-4-3 years old and we have $5 per month rent and also $1.74 per week Insurance which that dont enclude Food and Clothing and Fuel to burn. Now Mr. White in the past two and half months I am being going to the relief office trying to get on the relief work and it seem like it is empossible and also just before the first of April I went up to the relief office and explain my case to Mr. ....., the man that gave out the work cards and he gave me a food order for the amount of $2—two dollars and also I got some work to do. But as soon as I got paid for the 24 hours work he came to me to collect $2 for the food order that he gave me and I refuse to gave him $2 and I havent been able to get any more work to do and I have been going up to the office each day sence. But they tell me at the office that they cant gave me work because my wife is working. Of course if that maybe the case I can gave you the name and the address of at least a hundred families where their is two and three in one family who are working on the relief project and I know of at least twenty single men with no one but theirself to take care of and are working 24 hours every week and they got to gave their foreman one dollar each every week if they want to stay on the job.

John Davis Photo

These ragged youngsters belong to a family classified as ineligible to receive relief by Alabama ERA authorities

Now Mr. White the white man who my wife work for and my wife told him that they refuse to gave me work because she was working for me and he went up to relief office to see about it But they told him that they didnt cut me out of work because my wife were working but the cut me off because I were unable to do the work. and of course I know that to be very much untrue. The trouble is I refuse to be a fool like so many of my race here and else where around here to pay for a food order that is supose to be giving to the needy free of charge but lots are paying for them and also paying for their job. Of course Mr. White I am colored and when you go up to the relief office The Colored people is treated just as if they were dogs and not human beings. I have been up in the office and I have seen with my own eyes my color kicked and beaten down a whole flight of stairs. I have seen every thing done except been murder. Understand Mr. White the little job that my wife has isnt on the releif is a private and everybody that is head of any thing here in the releif office is kin to one another. Now Mr. White the lady that is head of the relief is Mrs. ..... which I saw her once since I was cut off from work and I explained my case to her and she told that she would send a investigator around to my home the next morning whose name is Miss ..... and she told me that when I gave Mr. ..... the $2 for the food order she would O.K. my work card. Mr. White if possible will you please fine out for me just what is the reason they refuse to gave me work when I have six in family and rent to pay. Insurance, Doctor bill, milk bill, buy food and clotheng with only my wife at work it is impossible Mr. White.

.....

....., Ala.
June 21, 1934

N.A.A.C.P. DEAR SIR:—My name is ..... I wrote you some time ago concerning the relief department an received a answer I received a grocer on the 8th of May an since that time I have ben completly without food since then so I received this one on the 20th of June I am sending it to you as a proof of how the relief system is carried on 93¢ just enough for a days eating before then I had not received nothing since Febuary they will expect me to live on this for more than a month please consider this as a serious matter an help us if it is possible to do so you may do what you think is best with this order I will be looking for a answer from you soon.

Very truly yours,

.....

....., La.
April 3, 1934

DEAR SIR:—Only few line to ask you to do something for us down hear in Plaquemines Parish. We have report to the E.R.A. and they dont gave us any work and dont gave relif to the colored peple. so kindly got in tutch with Washington. See why they dont gave us work and dont wont to gave relif down hear in Plaquemines Parish. Miss Marjorie Rickey is Parish Director. Bad place to recave mail. No work to make a living, no money to leave. this will bee all for today kindly do this faver for us. From

.....

NEXT MONTH

John P. Davis, secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, returns to the pages of THE CRISIS in the December number with an article on the Southland company of Montgomery, Ala., which closed rather than pay its colored girl operators the NRA scale of $12 a week.

Reflection Funereal

By HERBERT HENEGAN

Autumn is a nut-brown shroud
Dame Nature spreads
With melancholy hands
Upon the pale, white form
Of summer.

Editorials

Goodbye to General Johnson

THERE will be few, if any, tears shed by colored people over the resignation of General Hugh S. Johnson as Big Chief of the NRA. From the day he took office until the day he resigned, General Johnson consulted with and took notice of every section of the industrial working population—except Negro Americans.

Of course the NRA is too big, was organized too frantically, and was concerned with too many intricate problems for the chief administrator to give personal attention to the problems of any special group. Such action was not expected. But it was expected that at some one time during the fifteen months of General Johnson's term he would go over the plight of the 960,000 Negro workers in industry. Especially was this to be expected in the light of the history of the treatment of these workers, of their importance in raising the purchasing power of certain large areas, and in view of the tendencies of NRA policies, almost from the beginning, to perpetuate their serfdom.

But the General had no time for these matters. It did not concern him that Alabama steel firms were paying 25 cents an hour for the same type of work for which Pittsburgh firms were paying 40 cents an hour—with the cost of living demonstrated to be only about one-half of one per cent higher in Pittsburgh than Birmingham. The maneuvers of union labor in shutting out Negro workers while taking advantage of the collective bargaining clause of section 7A brought no frown to his brow. A code in the laundry industry setting up 14 cents an hour for Negro workers, with whites a half a league away getting more, brought no righteous roars from his throat. The exclusion of 12,000 Negro workers from the cotton textile code caused no thumping protest on the Big Chief's desk. The leather-lunged General never recalled a Blue Eagle or threatened to "crack down" on any exploiter of the Negro (and the NRA ideal).

As a result of this indifference there are no specific, and few general benefits which the Negro can claim from NRA. A smattering of Negro workers here and there in the North have had their hours shortened and wages increased, especially if they happened to be among large numbers of fellow white workers. An idea of what southern workers have received can be seen from the fact that although NRA set up a code wage of 14 cents an hour in the laundry trade, *even that starvation wage scale has never been enforced.* The general benefits include the inculcation of the idea that wages must be raised for all workers. This idea has caught on in spots in the South, as evidenced by enlightened newspaper editorials in North Carolina, Alabama and Texas. It may result in the wages of Negroes being raised over the old levels, even if they do not equal those of whites.

The best that can be said for General Johnson by Negroes is that he has helped dramatically to stir anew the discussion of the old topics of opportunity, security and redistribution of wealth. Of course, General Johnson and his kind will not do much more than discuss these topics. It is for the Negro to become alert in this changing time which has brought these discussions to the fore, and to join with others in translating mere discussion into action and permanent benefits for the exploited and oppressed.

Liberia

IT appears that the United States is about to offer a solution of the problems of Liberia. Unofficial advice from the State Department seems to indicate that some sort of an agreement has been, or is about to be entered into between this country and the little independent African republic.

The troubles of Liberia have never been a burning question to the Negro Americans, all intellectual sentimentalists to the contrary, because the colored people of this country have had too many pressing problems of their own literally upon their very doorsteps. It is difficult for a people, as a mass, who have lynching, unemployment, starvation and peonage as daily companions to become excited over the sovereignty of a people 5,000 miles away.

Nevertheless, American Negroes are gratified that Liberian problems are receiving serious attention. Liberia should be given a fair chance to work out its destiny free of the hampering imperialistic designs of so-called "white" powers. In subscribing to this desire, however, colored Americans should not be naive enough to think that small, poorly developed countries can make their way in this ruthless world without concessions of one sort or another. It is not merely a question of color; it is cold-blooded international business. Realizing this, we should join with sincere Liberians in demanding that those concessions shall be for the improvement rather than the spoilation of the country.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *We are reprinting below a section of the editorial, entitled "The Parker Fight" from* THE CRISIS *of July, 1930, because it states precisely the attitude of the N.A.A.C.P. in the election of 1934 toward those senators who in May, 1930, voted for the confirmation of John J. Parker and against the welfare and citizenship rights of every Negro in the United States.*)

The Parker Fight

IT was a fine fight, but we all know that it was only a beginning. By itself and left to be forgotten it will amount to little. It must be followed up by the unflinching determination of Negroes to defeat the Senators who defied their vote and supported Parker. Nothing else will convince the United States that our gesture was not mere braggadocio and bluff. No Massachusetts Negro dare vote for Gillett (now deceased). No Ohio Negro can think of voting for McCulloch (defeated 1930) or Fess (candidate this fall). Kansas must punish Allen (defeated 1930), and Missouri must remember Patterson (candidate this fall). And if black West Virginia this year or four years hence sends either Hatfield (candidate this fall) or Goff (now deceased) back to the Senate, they must no longer pose as free men but slaves of the Coal Trust.

On the other hand, we must thank with our unfailing support men like Capper, LaFollette, Norris, Walsh, Wagner and others who at personal sacrifice and despite the strongest pressure stood true to democracy regardless of race. (Senator Hamilton F. Kean of New Jersey also voted for Parker and is a candidate for re-election this fall.)

James W. Johnson and Louis T. Wright

SINGULAR honor has come to two men this fall, strengthening the position of those Americans, colored and white, who believe the Negro must win his place in unrestricted competition on the basis of merit alone. James Weldon Johnson has added to his long list of distinguished achievements a guest professorship at New York university, where he is delivering a series of ten lectures on the contributions of Negroes to American life. New York university is to be congratulated upon this step, a most practical and

Editorials

sorely-needed aid to an intelligent approach to the so-called race problem. The university is doubly fortunate in having a man rich in gifts and experience as a guest member of its faculty. It is devoutly to be hoped that this sensible action will be followed by similar moves in other great institutions of learning.

Dr. Louis T. Wright's election as a fellow of the American College of Surgeons means that another barrier has been crashed. Year after year, since his brilliant record in the Harvard medical school, Dr. Wright has pressed on to solid achievement in his field of surgery. His researches, especially in skull fractures, have been the subjects of papers before distinguished medical bodies and articles in the leading surgical journal of America. He has come to be recognized as a skilled surgeon and a sound student of medicine without special designation as "colored" or "Negro." His election to the American College of Surgeons is a recognition of the creed by which he lives: that the Negro American must not shirk hard, painstaking work in whatever vocation he chooses; that he must not be satisfied with mediocrity or contented with sub-standard work behind the color line; and that, having set his eyes upon these goals, he must fight everlastingly, without compromise, all those persons and institutions within and without the race who would segregate him and deny him the right to grow and rise to his merited place among all men.

No Permanent Slavery

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has announced that NRA will become, in its revised form, a permanent part of the government. At least that is the plan of the administration which the next congress will be asked to approve. Colored Americans have a vital interest in the reorganization of NRA and should make plain to the President, Mr. Donald Richberg, and the new NRA boards of control that they expect no codified slavery for black workers in industry.

The harm which NRA has done black workers thus far outweighs the good. If this plan is to become permanent, there must be no inequalities based on color riveted into the law of the land.

Remember Your Friends and Your Enemies

ON November 6 the nation will go to the polls in as important a mid-administration election as has been held in the last decade. The policies of the Roosevelt administration are on trial. Everyone is wondering whether the wind is blowing for or against the New Deal. THE CRISIS believes the Negro voters should be more than ordinarily alert, for these are critical times for the race.

All academic disputes to the contrary, the ballot is the only means the ordinary citizen has in this country of expressing his feelings toward the government. What, then, do we want of our elected representatives?

We want the best government we can get for all the people. We want social security and all the improvements in the social order that other enlightened people want. In addition, we have some special desires. We want our congressmen and senators to pledge themselves to vote for a federal anti-lynching law. We want them to demand abolition of discrimination in NRA, AAA, and PWA, for we want work according to our merit and at the same rate of pay as others doing the same work. We want our farmers and farm laborers to benefit from AAA. On public works projects we believe Negro citizens to be entitled to a share of the employment created by tax money from all citizens. We want no more Lily White Boulder Dams. We want our city, county, and state officials, as well as our national representatives, to see that direct relief is administered without racial or color bias. We want no more spectacles of colored women being thrown out of restaurants under the dome of the capitol of the United States of America, for this action last winter epitomized the contempt and prejudice which must not be a part of the central government of all the people.

We have all our old complaints against jim crowism, segregation and insult and they should be remembered in each locality as each black voter casts his ballot. But on lynching, employment opportunities, relief, and impartiality from the federal government we are making special demands of candidates. When we march to the polls on November 6, we will remember our friends—and our enemies.

Superiority

AS this magazine will be coming off the press, unless protests are effective, the University of Michigan will be in the process of offering a stinging insult to one of its loyal sons and most distinguished athletes, Willis Ward. On Saturday, October 20, in the vast stadium at Ann Arbor, Mich., the Michigan football team will be battling the team from Georgia Tech. Willis Ward is a star end of the Michigan team. Last year he snatched passes from the air and raced across many a white stripe for long gains and touchdowns for his alma mater. When spring came 'round he donned spiked shoes and garnered so many points in track competition that Michigan won the Big Ten championship and he became known as Michigan's "One Man Track Team."

So when Georgia Tech prepared to come north to play Michigan and asked Michigan to keep Ward out of the line-up, one would have thought Michigan would have replied: "You want a game with the Michigan team and Ward is a star player on that team. If you don't play him you will not be playing the real Michigan team. If you just can't play against him, you can stay down in Atlanta."

But Michigan did not say that—or at least it has not said anything like that at the time of this writing. It has permitted the announcement to be made that Ward will not be played against Georgia Tech. For Michigan and Georgia Tech are both made of superior stuff, while Ward is just a colored boy.

The Georgia Tech lads are superior sons of the South who got that way by never going into a situation where a black boy might have an equal chance, under common rules, to show them up. Michigan is superior not because its black Eddie Tolans, DeHart Hubbards and Willis Wards have brought it fame from Osaka to Berlin, and from Ann Arbor to Argentina, but because of the status it holds in the regard of such schools as Georgia Tech.

Ward is inferior to these great institutions and eminent Nordics because he can win track meets single-handed; because in a football uniform he is a deadly tackler, a streak of lightning under punts, and a smart, shifty broken field runner; because in all his competitions he will take on all comers, drawing no lines; because he smiled when they failed to elect him captain and chose a man who had just transferred to Michigan from another school; because he smiled again when they also dodged electing him track captain; because he is loyal to his university, insults notwithstanding; but above all, because he is a gentleman.

No Negro Workers Wanted

The 165-million-dollar Boulder dam is being built near Las Vegas, Nev., for the United States government by contractors instructed to hire American citizens, with veterans preferred. But American Negro workers—including veterans—are having a hard time getting on their government's payroll

BOULDER DAM is in the news again. Latest advices to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from Las Vegas, Nevada, contain the information that on October 1 there were 5,079 men employed by various companies at the dam. Of this huge number exactly 8 were colored men. If one leans toward percentages, that means colored people have, roughly, .00157 per cent of the employment on their government's gigantic 165-million-dollar project.

The figures on the payroll are as graphic. The total daily payroll around October 1 was running to $18,000. Of this amount colored workers were drawing $33 a day. Turning to percentages again, we have Negro workers getting about .00183 per cent of the wages being paid daily.

For three years the government has been "passing the buck" on Boulder dam employment. The only time it was given any serious consideration was in the summer of 1932 when the Republicans, trying desperately to re-elect Herbert Hoover, placed the magnificent total of 32 Negroes on the payroll in an effort to still the protests.

Secretary Wilbur of the Hoover cabinet promised no discrimination, but did nothing. The Six Companies, Inc., which has the largest contract, denied it was discriminating, but did nothing. The government pointed out to the N.A.A.C.P. that under the act of congress on Boulder dam the only stipulation about labor was that American citizens should be employed and preference should be given veterans. When the association asked whether Negroes were citizens and whether Negroes who served in the World war were veterans, the government was silent. Labor at the dam is handled by the U. S. Employment Service which has drawn a tight line against Negro applicants.

Another sore point has been Boulder City, a brand new town built from the ground up by the government to house employes at the dam. Negroes were absolutely barred from living in this government town. Those few who did work on the dam had to travel back and forth to Las Vegas each night and morning (29 miles each way) at their own expense.

Secretary Ickes of the Roosevelt cabinet has issued orders for no discrimination on these kinds of projects and Dr. Clark Howell Foreman, special adviser on Negroes in the department of the interior was supposed to have corrected the Boulder City situation. The N.A.A.C.P. has received statements, however, dated since September 1, de-

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Bureau of Reclamation Photo

Late view of Boulder Dam where only 8 *Negro workers are employed out of more than* 5000 *men on the job.*

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

AN UNUSUAL CASE

New Orleans *States*

Now and then some jury in the South looks at a criminal case in which whites and blacks are involved and seeks to do full justice regardless of color. Such a jury in Manchester, Tenn., the other day, did so, when it convicted eight white men of killing a Negro tenant farmer.

The murder occurred three months ago, following a Negro social gathering at which the tenant struck a white man who, with several companions, had invaded the school house where the party was in progress. These white men had not been invited, they had no business there, and theirs was the whole responsibility for provoking the trouble.

The whites finally withdrew from the party and organized a lynching bee. They followed the Negro down the road, pursued him into a cornfield and ruthlessly beat him to death. Evidence showed those who invaded the party were the aggressors throughout, first in trying to break up the party and then in ganging the Negro.

The lynchers were put on trial together. They were represented by the best available counsel. But the jury, composed wholly of whites, found all guilty. Three of the eight were sentenced to five-year terms, while the other five were given two-year terms.

The punishment might be considered in disproportion to the enormity of the crime, for the evidence proved a cold-blooded murder, with no mitigating circumstances. But there is satisfaction in the fact that this white jury picked from the community in which the accused resided, had the courage to render a guilty verdict.

The Negro practically has been denied the privilege of suffrage in the South, and makes no protest against it. But he is entitled to the protection of his civil rights where he lives obediently to the law; and a white jury is entitled to commendation when in a case like that at Manchester it disregards the color line and condemns those responsible for wanton murder when a Negro is the victim.

In his campaign for United States Senator, Bilbo made no anti-Negro speeches, for the Negro has been eliminated as a political factor in Mississippi and in other States in the south for the time being. Temporarily at least, the race issue has been shelved by those who seek office by playing on the emotions of ignorant whites. The depression has spawned a more appealing issue. Today the "Macedonian cry" of the Demagogue is: "Distribution of wealth." Of course he means for the poor white only.—New York *Age*.

In America today the crime of lynching is more a disgrace to the nation than all the kidnappings, but because it is usually some insignificant person that is lynched we have not yet been aroused to the seriousness of a band of human beings who become so thirsty for blood that it goes to commit a murder. Possibly some day a white Federal Government and every state in the country will become so aroused that the disgrace of lynching will be abolished. . . .

Just as every agency of the law cooperated to run down the perpetrator of the Lindbergh kidnapping, so should every agency of the law cooperate to run down those who take the law in their hands to do mob violence.—Carolina *Times*.

Our South is a land of inconsistencies. It gave the Negroes the promise of Heaven as compensation for the Hell of Slavery. Strongest of preachers against miscegnation, yet producers of the world's greatest crop of Mulattoes. Doesn't believe in cremating the dead, yet never hesitates to cremate the living if his color is not white.—Cincinnati *Union*.

The citizens of Texas are looking in the right direction when they support the lead of Attorney R. D. Evans and other far-seeing leaders who are making a gallant fight to obtain the right of suffrage in the state. The right to express your approval or disapproval of the candidacy of any man or men who seek official preference, both in the primary and election, is inherent as a political privilege to which every American citizen is entitled.

The black citizens of Texas have taken upon themselves—and rightly so—the responsibility of blazing the trail for right-thinking citizens of every Southern state to follow. Their determination to obtain before the bar of justice those rights and privileges which other racial groups are enjoying justifies their title to the name of men and women.—Chicago *Defender*.

The grasping mill owners of Georgia, through their National Guard, have arrested 126 white strikers for the "crime" of picketing, and penned them inside a barbed wire stockade north of Atlanta. Sixteen of these workers are women. No charges have been filed against them. They were just kidnapped by the Georgia militia.

This sort of thing is to be expected in Georgia and adjacent States where there has never been any respect for Constitutional Rights. Georgia has for years retained the pennant in the Lynching League and in many respects is more backward than the Belgian Congo. After disregarding the rights of Negro workers since its foundation, it was not to be expected that much consideration would be shown white workers.—Pittsburgh *Courier*.

In St. Joseph, Missouri, last week, renomination was refused Judge J. V. Gaddy who received nation-wide publicity for his condemnation of lynching in his charge to the grand jury which he called to investigate the mob which killed a Negro in that city in 1933. Within the community report is that Judge Gaddy was weighed and found wanting in other respects, but the nation's conclusion is certain to be that Missouri also refused to support a judge who opposed lynching.

The agitation against lynching must go on until every public official will have done the usual and the normal when he acts to stop it. Then he will be considered for continuance in public office on other qualifications.—Kansas City *Call*.

At its annual convention, the Maryland Department of American Legion elected a Negro vice commander and passed a resolution endorsing anti-lynching legislation by Congress.

Two lynchings have occurred in eastern shore Maryland during the past year, and it is interesting to note that news releases state that Legionnaires from that section fought the resolution up to its final vote.

This is the first time a Negro has held a department office in Maryland, a step showing that there is improvement in racial cooperation. Incidentally the *Bystander* has said at all times, that Negro ex-service men can help race adjustment materially by taking an active part in the American Legion.—Iowa *Bystander*.

Uncle Tom

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status quo on which their own welfare and profits depend. An important factor in the preservation of the status quo is the continued subordination of the Negro people. White superiority has cash value to them.

What can the Negro do? The first impulse is to say that he should produce his own films. Something of that sort is attempted in the Micheaux pictures. However the run-of-mine films produced by Negro companies fail miserably because their producers simply ape the white movies. Thus, we have ridiculous productions depicting burnt cork Clark Gables and Norma Shearers living in mansions and ordering butlers about. All semblance of reality is eschewed in efforts to match the current white films. Negro pictures of the past have been as out of focus as those produced by Hollywood. Those faults could be overcome, but tremendous technical difficulties both in production and distribution would remain. The average owner of the small theater is under the thumb of the Hollywood producers and must take the pictures they offer him. Doubtless these Hollywood producers would not look kindly on competition even if capital for production could be obtained. I believe that the cost of production would be prohibitive. The best that can be hoped for in that direction, I believe, is the production of 16 millimeter films that might be shown in small halls. A "little movie" movement comparable to the "little theater" might be started.

Action Against Box Office

The second move lies in protest. Negroes have used this weapon in the past to some degree. Past protest has taken the form of appeals to authority to ban such shows as "Birth of a Nation." Some success has been registered, but that method has its limitations. In a showdown the political and economic power of Hollywood is great enough to force permission to show any film that it may produce. Again, protest of that kind can never reach the pictures in which the anti-Negro propaganda is introduced by always showing him at his worst or as an inferior, nor can it compel favorable news reel showings. Protest to be of its greatest value must be inculcated in the great mass of Negro people. They must be taught to recognize and resent anti-Negro sentiment in such a manner that their feelings can reach the box office. They must let Hollywood know that they object vigorously to being shown as buffoons, clowns or butts for jest. They must stop applauding for such imperialistic jingoism as Trader Horn.

MRS. IDA YOUNG PULLINS

Mrs. Pullins received her master's degree from the Chicago Musical College this year, being the only colored member of the class. She studied formerly at Boston Conservatory of Music and Spelman college, Atlanta.

The Negro masses will adopt a critical attitude only if organs of opinion and Negro leadership establish an adequate critique for their guidance. Criticism of the movies is in a deplorable state at the present time. Negro magazines give no attention to it at all until some monstrosity such as the "Birth of a Nation" is announced. Negro newspapers have pages devoted to the theater and the film, but those pages are jokes, or worse. Most of such a page is given over to reprinting blurbs at the request of theater owners. Not long since, I saw one of these blurbs in a Negro newspaper lauding a white woman for her success in maintaining her virtue on a South Sea island! What space is not given over to the publicity men is reserved for pumping some Negro bit actor up to the dimensions of a star. One not acquainted with American life and reading only a Negro newspaper theatrical page could believe easily enough that some 45-second Negro bit player, depicting a servant, was the star of the film being reviewed! Such criticism is worse than useless; it is the abjectness of a beggar fawning over a penny tossed him by his lord. It is acceptance of "our place."

Nor is it easy to over-emphasize the importance of the movies as agents in shaping public opinion. It is vitally important that immediate and active steps be taken to try and effect a change in their present attitude toward the Negroes they depict. The people who can change that attitude are the theater-goers themselves. And they can and will do it if they are armed with an intelligently critical spirit. These same people could become the base for the "little movie" movement if they were taught to demand pictures that reflect their own lives and aspirations. So long as we sit acquiescent and give either passive or active support to the Hollywood bilge of the present we are guilty of teaching ourselves, our own children and millions of white, yellow and brown movie-goers the world over that the Negro is an inferior. It's time we took up arms on the Hollywood front. We might get in some telling blows just now when the movie makers are already under fire.

Voter's Plight

(*Continued from page 323*)

Republican candidates for governor, he should naturally vote the Socialist ticket, if there is any. In Wisconsin he ought to throw himself wholeheartedly into the campaign to elect the brothers LaFollette as governor and senator respectively. In New York the only possible course is again to vote for the Socialists just as a gesture and as a protest without hope of great accomplishment. Meanwhile, however, the Negro ought more than ever to be rallying to his two great organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Urban League. It may possibly be that the time will yet come when it will be necessary to form a Negro party. I have always opposed any such action by hyphenated groups such as the Irish-Americans and German-Americans.

But after all they have no such difficulties, and no such terrible problems, as confront the Negro. They are not discriminated against, they are not lynched and burned, they are not deprived of citizenship and of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, they are not set apart by the federal government itself as people of a lesser type, so that perhaps it may yet be necessary in times to come for the Negro to organize politically in self-defense. But the time is not now. He must for the present, in most states in which he can vote, throw that vote away, or refrain from going to the polls. But he can at least praise the New Deal and President Roosevelt in their efforts to improve the status of the working man in America, even if those efforts be half-hearted. Wherever he sees a progressive tendency there the Negro should come to the front to champion it. Beyond that he must wait. America is in a flux. A return to the conditions of 1929 is impossible. In two or three years from now the whole scene may have changed and a new lineup may come in which the Negro will naturally and of right take his place.

Which College—White or Negro?

By Josephine Mildred Buster

The judges decided that this essay and another on the famous Sweet case, both from the high school section of the contest conducted by the N.A.A.C.P. last spring, should share first prize honors. The second essay will be published in an early issue of The Crisis

WHAT is a college? Why is a college? These constitute two vital questions today in the minds of people everywhere. In answer to the former, the ordinary layman would probably respond that the college is an institution that exists for the student. More careful thought, however, reveals that it is an institution established and maintained by society in order to accomplish some result which in the view of the social group is considered to be necessary or at least advantageous. Whether or not the ultimate goal of society—in reality its own uplift—will be achieved depends very largely upon two things: first, upon the types of higher educational institutions that are maintained, and second, upon the dominating purpose of the students who attend these institutions.

Max McConn in his discussion of higher education, has formulated three interesting purposes of the college:

(1) The bread-and-butter purpose;
(2) The super-kindergarten purpose; and—
(3) The culture purpose.

The bread-and-butter purpose is one of most frequent occurrence, especially in the minds of parents. Numerous fathers and mothers make sacrifices in order to send their sons and daughters to college in hopes that they in the future will be able to make more money and have an easier way of life than the parents themselves had. In other words, the purpose of the college from the standpoint of those who maintain the bread-and-butter purpose, is to afford special privileges and advantages to its students to aid them materially in their future life.

A large number of parents and students have in mind the super-kindergarten purpose. Especially is this true among the financially well-to-do. Parents of means are often convinced that their children will be better taken care of if they are sent to college to keep them out of mischief. They feel that their offspring must have that college "stamp" if they are to uphold the family name. In short, the purpose of the college from the point of view of parents with such an aim as just described, is that of a super-kindergarten, "to take care of a group of older babies, who have progressed, in their amusements, from rattles to rah-rahs."

Finally, there is a limited number of parents and a large number of students who share the culture purpose. They attend college because they wish to improve and enrich their knowledge and to make themselves better and more courageous members of society. Their purpose in going to college is not to fit themselves to make a living, nor is it their purpose to be taken care of, but they wish to sustain and increase the sum-total of man's material and non-material traits—that is, culture.

Irrespective of the purpose one has in going to college, in making a choice of what school to attend, the young Negro is confronted today with this question: Does the white or the Negro college prepare one better for life?

About Segregation

Segregation has been a topic of discussion in the United States since the institution of slavery was established. At present, society may be divided roughly into three groups in its thinking on the question of school segregation:

(1) Some white educators and many laymen accept segregation as a social necessity for the white race, opposing change;
(2) Some white and some Negro thinkers consider segregation undemocratic in principle and oppose it;
(3) Some Negroes, though regarding segregation as undemocratic, yet desire segregation as a valuable means of development for the Negro.

Those groups of white citizens who advocate separate schools for the betterment of society are numerous. They believe that isolation of the races leads toward greater heights of advancement within these races. Charles Campbell, prominent white attorney of Detroit, Michigan, says that segregation results in growth, power, and culture for both races. He also declares that segregation is the best method of handling problems of disorganization and readjustment.

Another reason frequently urged for the separation of the two groups is based upon the declaration that Negroes are mentally inferior to whites. This assumption, however, has been disproved. Studies made as to the educability of the Negro indicate that he compares favorably with other races. On this point Rudolph Pintner, professor of education, Teachers college, Columbia university, says in part:

> "At any rate such differences as exist are not great enough to call for any differential educational treatment of the two social groups. The overlapping is so great that there is no psychological justification for different schools. If such are thought desirable, they must be defended on other grounds than those of intellectual difference between the two races."

Although admitting that Negroes and whites are practically of the same mentality, E. P. Cubberley in his book "State and County Educational Reorganization," sanctions separate schools providing Negroes are offered the same educational advantages and facilities that the whites receive.

On the other hand, however, many of the broadminded members of the race condemn segregation as being undemocratic. They place the two groups on the same plane and believe the only means of securing a better society is not through segregation, but through intermingling.

Edward Byron Reuter in the "American Race Problem," states:

> "Any degree of exclusion results in cultural retardation since no group however talented may hope to produce a galaxy of genius that would enable it to progress at a rate comparable with others not limited to copy from their own inventive genius. The cause or type of isolation does not alter the end result. Illiteracy is not less significant than physical isolation."

Decry Separate Schools

V. F. Calverton and Robert Eleazer, white contributors to the *Opportunity* magazine, observe the trends toward educational segregation with apprehension. They fear the spread of the "Jim Crow" car and other forms of racial differentiation. The Chicago *Defender*, a Negro newspaper, holds ambitious race leaders responsible for separate schools in the North and criticises their lack of foresight in encouraging segregation. The *Union*, a Negro Weekly edited by W. P. Dabney, fears that segregation on cars, in residential districts, and in public places will follow separate schools, and argues that tax-supported institutions have no right to draw the color-line. Harry Smith, editor of the Cleveland *Gazette*, a Negro weekly, believes that segregated schools are responsible for many of the racial troubles existing in many of our larger cities. Gordon Victor Cools in "New Tendencies in Negro Education," states:

> "The best results are obtained with a mixed faculty. To resort to either of the

two extremes is a bad policy. The child needs contact with both groups if he is to become a broadminded citizen."

Dr. Carter G. Woodson in his recent book, "Mis-Education of the Negro," says in substance that Negroes should attend white colleges, and that those of our group who favor segregation have a very narrow view. Such people, he says, feel inferior to the so-called "superior" race and desire to stay in their own sphere rather than climb to higher spheres that would place them on the level with the other race. This can be accomplished only through contact which many segregationists fear.

Colored students and white students mingling together in the same classroom as one race, help open the road for better and more agreeable race relationships. White students learn to know the higher classes of Negroes and think of individuals as individuals and not as members of a certain race. This latter fact has been one of the gravest problems with which our group has had to cope; and if the condition is to be improved, it will have to be done while in contact with white people.

Many members of our race advocate separate schools, because they think such a policy is necessary for the proper development of the Negro's personality. One is broadened by contact with other members of the race. Moreover, the treatment colored students often receive in white colleges is not what is desired, nor are they permitted to indulge in the customary campus activities. This alone, they say, is ground enough to warrant the necessity of colored universities, in order that colored students will have opportunities equal to those of white students.

Julia E. R. Clark, secretary-general of the U. N. I. A., having been a teacher in both white and colored schools, firmly believes that the Negro race should demand first-class separate schools to gain the best education for its youth. She does not mean, however, that Negroes should accept segregation that is forced upon them, but fight for equal rights. In her experiences she has found that white teachers are indifferent and often unwilling to teach Negro children. If this be generally true in mixed schools, there is little wonder that some Negroes advocate segregated educational institutions.

Referring to segregation, Booker T. Washington said:

"Practically every thoughtful Negro resents the injustice and doubts its sincerity. Any race adjustment based on injustice finally defeats itself."

It is certainly the conviction of an increasingly large number of persons that segregation of people entirely on a basis of race and color is strongly undemocratic in principle. However, since American Negroes, because of the slowness with which changes are effected, must live for some years to come at least, in a segregated world, they must develop institutions of their own that are really efficient, which may be judged by any standard.

Choice Depends on Student

As to whether a Negro institution will develop one better for life than a white institution, like Addison's Sir Roger, I reply, "Much can be said on both sides." The arguments herein presented suggest varying points of view, any of which appears logically tenable. As a freshman college student, however, I do feel quite intensely on this point and am therefore venturing what is my individual opinion of the matter.

I think that the Negro college student who possesses high mentality, who is aggressive and dominating in personality, should attend a white college. If he has proved himself superior in high school by making high grades, if he has read widely, has acquired facility in the use of language, and has initiative, and thinks of the associates among whom he is thrown as individuals and not as members of a racial group, and is not disturbed by what Mr. Freud would call an inferiority complex, I think he should attend a white university where he will have an opportunity through wide contacts not only to develop and enrich his own personality, but will be a living testimony of the ability and character of the Negro race.

Since segregation is one of the bugbears of human society which every thinking citizen wishes to abolish, will not contact of the best of one race with the best of the other race result in a mutual friendship that will tear down the barriers of social differentiation?

On the contrary, if a colored student is somewhat under-privileged from the standpoint of biological and social heredity, if he is shy and shrinking by nature and has to act under a spur, if he has made a mediocre high school record in scholarship, I think he should be sent to a segregated institution where he will probably receive special attention from his professors. In time he will lose his timidity through association with members of his own group and will gain an opportunity to participate in their activities, consequently being in a position to round out his character.

After all, though, what kind of college one shall choose to attend is a matter of personal choice to be decided by each individual after he has taken stock of his ability, his personality, and his goal in life. And his decision must be based not purely on what may come to him personally as a result of his education, but on what service he will be able to render his fellowmen in the society in which he will find himself.

DORIS

Doris is ten years old and in the fifth grade in school. She lives at the Children's Home in Cincinnati, O., and is anxious to be adopted into a real family. Her supervisors say she is obedient and has good manners. Inquiries may be directed to Miss Vera Clement, 909 Plum street, Cincinnati, O.

Radio Set Thru Needle's Eye

Rufus P. Turner, noted radio expert of 11 Wellington St., Boston, Mass., was compelled recently to defend his championship as builder of the tiniest radio in the world. Turner's original model, which was built on a common straight pin ten years ago, is in Ripley's Believe-It-Or-Not show at the World's Fair.

Seeking to underbuild Turner, Francis Whittemore of Weston, Mass. constructed a workable set on the point of a common pin, and William Maida of Baltimore placed one in the eye of a needle. To regain his title from these two white contenders, Turner built another diminutive set so small that it passes through the eye of a fine sewing needle. This last amazing radio has gone to the Fair for exhibition alongside the original straight pin set which is now quite huge in comparison.

Patents Lawn-Sweeper

Rev. M. S. Rudd, pastor of St. Matthew's A. M. E. Zion Church, Sewickley, Pa., has been granted a patent on a lawn sweeper, a device on which he has been working for about four years. The sweeper has a revolving broom which picks up the leaves, throws them into a series of disk saws, which grind or granulate them, after which they are scattered back on the ground, where they act as fertilizer for the grass. This saves the labor of gathering up the leaves and disposing of them, and also leaves the lawn in much better condition for next year's growth of grass.

The patent was secured through the firm of Victor J. Evans & Co., patent attorneys in Washington, D. C. Mr. Rudd has made a specimen machine with his own hands, and has tried it in practical service with most satisfactory results. He expects soon to bring it to the attention of manufacturers who will make and market the machine.

Did "Liberian Natives" Speak?

By Walter F. Walker

I BELIEVE it is a general policy with liberal publications not to question the opinions expressed by writers, nor to accept or reject manuscripts because these opinions may differ with the views of the Editor. It appears to me, however, that defensible efforts should be made to investigate purported statements of fact contained in articles published, regardless of authorship, whenever these involve the vital existence of people and nations.

Especially this editorial precaution should have been exercised in reference to the content and far-reaching implications of the letter of Mr. F. W. M. Morais addressed to Monsieur Henry A. Junod, at Geneva, and which appeared in the September issue of THE CRISIS under the caption "Liberian Natives Tell Their Story." This letter plainly advocates subversion of the autonomy of a sovereign state, and a cursory reading of it in the light of a little knowledge concerning its author, would have readily revealed its mischievous intent.

It would have been an easy matter for THE CRISIS to have assayed the claims of Mr. Morais that he is the omnipotent influence among all the Natives of Liberia, that he is their mouthpiece, and that he correctly reflects the attitude towards established government of the entire aborigine population of the republic. This claim of his is a weighty one. No one save a tendentious agitator, reckless of the consequences of his actions and bent upon governmental disruption, would go to the extreme of making an open bid for the intervention of outside powers in such circumstances, fraught as this intervention would be with dangerous possibilities of political disaster to the State. It is the cry of an iconoclast who clothes himself with the mantle of a righteous cause in order to cloak his sinister designs.

It is the custom of African tribes generally to select a "mouth" when they have some important matter to discuss. There are some thirty distinct tribes in Liberia, but these have never yet been known to designate a single "mouth" to speak for them. Mr. Morais is Grebo; he is not the "mouth" for his own tribe, and there are many educated Greboes who will corroborate this statement. No one, of course, can prevent Mr. Morais from setting up this claim for himself. At one time in his brief public career he was held in high esteem. He is an educated man and was accorded honors commensurate with his ability to earn them and his capacity to retain them.

In September* The Crisis *published a letter signed by Dr. W. M. Morais, voicing complaints against the Liberian government. Mr. Walker, Liberian consul in New York, comments here on Dr. Morais and the Liberian situation

This is the common reward within the reach of every educated man in Liberia, whether of aborigine or Americo-Liberian stock.

Mr. Morais was elected as a member of the House of Representatives but, for sufficiently grave reasons having all the earmarks of treason, he was expelled from that body in 1931. Following this incident he devoted his time and energies to a course of action intended to foment trouble for the Government and to give the critics and enemies of Liberia accusations upon which charges of bad faith with the Natives, and of misgovernment in general, might plausibly be based.

Sought Intervention

He labored to excite his own people to the point of rebellion in the political confusion and misgivings which followed hard upon the report of the International Commission on Slavery, and the consequent resignations of President C. D. B. King and Vice-President Allen Yancy. He prevailed upon them ultimately to raise money to defray his expenses to Europe on the pretext of bringing the cause of the Greboes before the League of Nations. He promised them the immediate intervention of some white power that would interpose itself between them and the Liberian Government, and to see to it that they would be accorded preferential consideration in the new governmental alignment which he assured them would be brought about.

Both the Krus and the Greboes have been told by Europeans on more than one occasion that they should rightfully rule Liberia, that they were the lords of the realm. These purposely covert suggestions found very favorable soil for germination among these people. Mr. Morais was cognizant of this fact, and he felt that there was a reasonable possibility of again arousing their hopes in this direction. The Greboes lent an inclining ear to his pleas, and not only paid his way to Europe but raised sufficient funds to send another educated Grebo along as a "delegation." This other gentleman was Attorney N. H. Sie Brownell. Mr. Brownell's delusion was of short duration, however. He early returned to Liberia, denounced the mischievousness of Mr. Morais and settled down to repair whatever damage his temporary political insanity had caused. He now occupies the position of judge of the circuit court.

The Greboes as a whole were not long in waking to a realization of their folly after the fatuous policy of Mr. Morais was fully grasped. They discarded his representations, refused him further aid, and left him to his own designs in Europe where he remained for several months, according to his own words, "going from Geneva to London and from London to Geneva, vociferating in the ears of the World the significance of the International Commission of Inquiry to Liberia from the point of view of the Natives." Finding further stay in Europe unpleasant and insecure, he elected to return to Liberia and risk the consequences of his disaffecting behavior. The Government shortly afterward seized him, tried and adjudged his actions to be treasonable, and ordered him confined in the military prison at Bella Yalla, from which he was released lately by a lenient Government.

This experience has been no lesson to Mr. Morais, for he still pursues his pernicious course. He is not so passionately moved at the distress of the Natives as he pictures them as he is concerned over the fact that he has been shorn of the power he professes he still sways. He has resorted to highly reprehensible methods to retrieve whatever power he once had. To regain it, he would invite intervention; to set up a just cause of intervention, he would play upon the sympathies of world opinion by dangling before its credulous eyes the threadbare charge of ruthless brutality practiced upon the Natives by an alleged exploiting governmental group.

Inspired Propaganda

Mr. Morais was trained as well as spent a greater portion of his life on the French Coast. He returned to Liberia in 1926 with a taint of the Colonial contempt for the governing authorities of Liberia which West Coast, and some ship officials, rarely fail to parade before Liberian natives with whom they come in contact. This contact is and has been most intimate with the Krus and Greboes who, almost

exclusively, are employed as deckhands and laborers for ships plying the West Coast of Africa. One regrets to say that these two tribes have caused more defiance and trouble to the Liberian Government than all the other tribes combined because they have been able to secure weapons to back up this defiance. There is an international agreement among the nations which prohibits the supply of any but a limited quantity of cap guns to African tribes, and this agreement seems to be rigidly effective in every case except when it comes to certain tribes of Liberia. But it has never been any mystery to the Liberian Government how high-powered rifles and implements of modern warfare have found their way so freely into the hands of the Krus and Greboes. The Government has disarmed them of these rifles on many occasions, but in a short while two guns seemed to spring up where one grew before, and the Government was compelled to repeat the process. In 1918 the Government took over 2000 of such rifles from belligerent Krus.

The statements of Mr. Morais are of the essence of the inspired propaganda and the subtle thrusts that have been directed against Liberia for many years but which reached a high peak of intensity in recent times. Outside efforts have been purposely centered on creating a cleavage in the population of Liberia, to establish the recognition of a difference in the interests, the aims, purposes and destiny of the Natives of Liberia as distinct from the descendants of the settlers from America. Harrowing pictures of oppression have been drawn; urgent appeals calling heavily upon the emotions have gone out, mainly from European sources, to "save the Native population from exploitation" and to see to it that "the slaughter and maltreatment of the two million Natives by the corrupt and inefficient oligarchy of Monrovia" is stopped. Such cries have even gone up from the lips of Negro writers in America.

This is an old trick practiced by dominant powers to break down racial solidarity and political understanding, and to have a people commit national hari-kari. It is the advance attack in a policy of "peaceful penetration." It was the orchestral accompaniment of American slavery to prevent uprisings among the slaves. Great Britain has used it cleverly and adroitly to keep India prostrate, and to set up castes in her other possessions that make colonial rule easy.

To any one who knows anything of Liberia, such an attempt to draw a line between the "Natives" and "Americo-Liberians" is amusing to say the least, seeing that the strains are so mixed that one can hardly tell Tweedledee from Tweedledum. There is probably not a single family that is free from this intermarriage. There is scarcely an office, elective or appointive, which the Natives have not filled and are not now filling. The "Government of Liberia" is as much "Native" as it is anything else. It is not perfection in its operation and in its efforts to cope with the problems arising from its social, economic and political order. It seems to be expected, however, that Liberia must run the one faultless government of the world. This smacks of undue and suspicious concern when the back yards of those powers who are so solicitous for the Natives of Liberia are examined.

Would Destroy Sovereignty

The Liberian Government is not free from administrative error, malfeasance of officials and corruptive practices. These human perversities, however, are not prime requisites and essential qualifications for office holding in Liberia as those so loudly insistent upon being allowed to clean up conditions would make it appear is the case. The Liberian Government and people are conscious of their limitations; they know certain help is desirable and necessary, but they do not see that there must be established this complete condition of corruption which certain forces have endeavored to do, in order to secure the unselfish and genuine helpfulness they have all along sought.

I am moved to this lengthy statement not so much as a desire of answering Mr. Morais as I am of emphasizing the fact that such sentiments as he expresses go much further than a plea for sympathetic action in behalf of "distressed Natives." The martyr cry of Mr. Morais—"O Lord! will that Civilization and Christendom, the good people in Europe and in America, come hastily, immediately, quickly and speedily to the deliverance of the natives of this country from under the yoke of the imperialist Government of Liberia," might just as well have been written by the hand of the high British official who so recently stated that "it would be a dereliction of duty to civilization if the misgovernment of the Native tribes by Liberia were to be allowed to continue," so identical are the sentiments and their implications.

Whether it is realized or not, these thrusts are aimed deeper; they are directed with deadly accuracy at the very heart of a sovereign and independent Negro State. They are but the lengthening shadow of a persistent purpose to discredit the capacity of the black man for self-government. Liberia having been referred to generally as the laboratory where this experiment is being tried, forces have been steadily at work to see that that experiment shall not be a success, for a strong, progressive, competent republic on the West Coast of Africa would not easily fit in with Colonial psychology which is at variance with republican ideals.

Negroes Not Wanted

(*Continued from page* 334)

claring that no colored people are permitted in Boulder City.

So the situation stands today about where it stood three years ago, that is, with the government of the United States engaged in a great public works project, financed with tax money, and with one-tenth of the citizens of the country practically shut out of the employment created.

532 in Hampton Summer School

The Hampton Institute Summer School for Teachers, offering 70 courses, attracted 532 students (men, 83; women, 449), from 17 states, the District of Columbia, and Africa, for its six-week and nine-week terms, which ran concurrently from June 21. Virginia led with 254 and was followed by North Carolina, 131, and Maryland, 75. Fifty students enrolled in the eight graduate courses.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of THE CRISIS, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1934.

State of New York } ss.:
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Roy Wilkins, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—THE CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: THE CRISIS Publishing Co., Inc., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. All stocks owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. L. T. Wright, Pres.; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treas.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROY WILKINS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1934.

[SEAL] FRANK M. TURNER,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1936.)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Campaign for Juries

The national office has initiated a southwide campaign against the exclusion of Negroes from grand and petit juries in southern states by distributing to 112 of its branches in the South a memorandum of procedure to be taken in jury exclusion cases.

This topic aroused wide interest at the twenty-fifth annual conference in Oklahoma City, Okla., when it was discussed by Dean Charles H. Houston. Dean Houston prepared for the conference a monograph on procedure based upon his work in the George Crawford case. He and Attorney Leon A. Ransom of the Howard Law School faculty, have prepared the instructions which the association has sent to its southern branches.

The 3,000-word document gives instructions for step-by-step procedure including study of the statutes, study of the provisions of the Constitution and statutes governing qualifications of grand jurors, procuring of certified copies of census reports containing necessary information on population, wealth, real estate ownership and political division on both races; study of tax lists and organization of statistics based on them, and the various steps to be followed legally.

The Association has carried on a long fight on Negro jury exclusion in the South almost from its birth in 1909, but this is the first time that a southwide campaign has been launched.

Is Lynching Crime?

On December 10–13, 1934, the National Conference on Crime is to meet in Washington at the call of Attorney General Cummings, but so far, no mention of lynching is contained in the literature or publicity released to the public.

The National Office has written Mr. Cummings inquiring whether lynching is to be considered. It has suggested that Senators Edward P. Costigan or Robert F. Wagner, or both, be asked to present the subject of lynching to the conference. It will be remembered that Mr. Cummings announced last February that his office was "not interested" in lynching or federal action against lynching.

White Primary Bar Pressed

Work is being continued against the barring of Negroes from primaries in the South. During the month Walter White and Dean Charles H. Houston of the legal committee conferred personally in Washington with Joseph B. Keenan, assistant attorney general of the United States on the barring of Negroes from the summer primaries in Texas. The hunt for the missing affidavits furnished by Negro voters in Texas continues. The affidavits were sent to the national office and forwarded from there to Mr. Keenan, who, in turn, forwarded them to the offices of the United States attorneys in Texas. Those officials claim never to have received them. The national office is pressing the fight in Texas because it already has the weight of two United States supreme court decisions in its favor in that state and because a clean victory in Texas would serve as a precedent for the whole of the South.

Norfolk Membership Drive

During October, a fifteen-day campaign for the Norfolk branch resulted in 625 memberships and $655. Ten teams consisting of ten or more workers each were successful in rounding up this membership. The team reporting the largest number of memberships was headed by Mrs. Florence Chesson, with a total of 122 and $143. The team headed by Mrs. Wansa Bagnall Webb was a close second with 86 memberships and $103. The standing of the re-

CALIFORNIA N.A.A.C.P. CAMPAIGN WORKERS

Lower center: Dr. H. C. Hudson, Mrs. A. Hill. Lower, left to right: Mrs. Sophey Morris, Mrs. A. Mitchell, Mrs. Fannie Abels, Mrs. Helen Davis, Miss Helen B. Hudson, Mrs. Hazel Williams, Miss Mamie Titus, Mrs. Ethel Atkinson, Mrs. Viola McLemore, Mrs. Ethel Prioleau. Upper row: S. B. W. May, H. G. Manning, W. R. Mackey, Edward Atkinson, Thaddeus Winston, John R. Williams, W. E. Leonard

mainder of the teams, and the captains leading them were as follows: third, Rev. U. G. Wisson; fourth, W. P. Millner; fifth, Miss Elisabeth Curtis; sixth, Rev. B. W. Harris; seventh, Miss Sarah B. Morris; eighth, Miss Maria Williamson; ninth, Miss Buenna Kelly; tenth, F. G. Beard.

The Chi Beta Chi Club, an organization of men, became 100 per cent members of the N.A.A.C.P. in addition to giving a group membership.

The campaign had the support of churches, federated clubs, schools, fraternal, civic and social organizations. The Norfolk agency force of the Southern Aid Society became 100 per cent members under the splendid leadership of P. Y. Bell.

The branch adopted a program which includes an effort to make the membership of the branch one hundred per cent voters and to increase the colored voting strength of Norfolk; to secure additional school facilities which will give to two thousand children, who are now on part time, a full day in school; to conduct a "Spend Your Dollar Where You Can Work" campaign.

Eugene West is president of the Norfolk Branch with James R. Jones secretary.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin regional field secretary, conducted the campaign. While in the Tidewater section Mrs. Lampkin visited the Hampton and Portsmouth branches, each of which began a campaign for members. The Portsmouth branch is under the leadership of Dr. W. B. Anderson, chairman and Mrs. Thomas Reid, secretary. Solomon Phillips, president of the Hampton branch is in charge of the campaign there.

Fights Jim Crow Car

The Mobile, Ala. branch has launched a fight against the inequalities in the Jim Crow railroad car and other forms of travel in the South. It has succeeded in getting the Louisville and Nashville railroad to agree to install wash bowls in toilets where such facilities never existed before. Complaint has been filed before the Interstate Commerce Commission against four southern railroads of which the L. and N. is one.

Aid for Home Owners

The Birmingham branch has set up a special grievance committee under the chairmanship of E. F. Durr which is dealing with all sorts of complaints, chief among which are those from colored people who have failed to receive aid, for one reason or another, from the Home Owners Loan Corporation. The first announcement issued by the committee warned colored people not to sign papers without knowing exactly what they were doing. Many owners have failed to receive relief from the federal agency because they have unwittingly entered into agreements with racketeers or signed away their rights before they knew it. The branch has held several meetings to which the home owners have been invited to consult with Mr. Durr and his associates on their problems. The branch then takes up with the proper authorities all irregularities or discriminations. Many delays in loans are found to be due to ignorance of just how to proceed. The committee is aiding and issuing instructions to applicants.

This committee also has taken up discriminations against Negro skilled mechanics and contractors on federal and state projects. It has studied the operation of the Transient bureau and has recommended the employment of more colored social workers.

A. F. of L. Is Picketed

Because some part of the failure of the Negro worker to secure his full share of benefits under the New Deal can be blamed upon the way the American Federation of Labor has treated him in past years, the N.A.A.C.P. decided to picket the A. F. of L. convention in San Francisco early this month. The actual picketing was carried out by the San Francisco branch under the direction of Leland S. Hawkins, president. Placards denouncing the color line in labor unions and pointing out that white and black labor both suffer from the jim crow policy were carried by pickets.

The national office also telegraphed the convention asking that it endorse a federal anti-lynching law, asserting that this was a time-honored method of dividing white and black labor for the exploitation of both.

Branch Notes

The **Roanoke, Va.** branch was successful after many attempts in having a full four year course installed in Salem high school. Heretofore, only three years' work had been given. Three new teachers were added. The superintendent of schools also agreed to renovating the colored school buildings at the request of the branch. A steam heating plant has been added to the high school. Other committees are now at work in an attempt to have colored clerks employed in some of the chain stores. An effort is being made to secure colored bus drivers at the station.

Horace Adams was the winner of the Ford automobile given away by the **East St. Louis** branch at Caseyville, Ill. September 15. Daniel Perry is president of the branch.

The **Massillon, Ohio** branch has protested to county headquarters in Canton on discrimination against skilled Negro mechanics on work relief projects. The particular case is that of Burke Adams, a plasterer, who registered for work in 1931, but who has been consistently refused a job on the excuse that only laboring jobs are open. The branch is protesting further, the attitude of a Salvation

My Country, 'Tis of Thee Sweet Land of Liberty—

This is a picture of what happens in America—*and no other place on earth!* Here is the U. S. rope and faggot record to date:

Lynchings since January 1:

16

●

Lynchings during same period last year:

20

●

Total lynchings since 1882:

5,066

●

(Figures as of October 15)

You can help stamp out lynch law by joining the forces who are campaigning for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by the next congress. Write the N.A.A.C.P. for information: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Army official who is said to have ordered Mr. Adams from home relief headquarters.

Miss Jessie Mae Quarles, secretary of the **Ann Arbor, Mich.** branch was awarded her master's degree in mathematics from the University of Michigan at the close of the summer quarter and will teach mathematics at Barber-Scotia college, Concord, N. C.

The closing mass meeting in the tenth anniversary celebration of the **Media, Pa.** branch on Sunday, September 16, was attended by more than three hundred people. Dr. Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore college and Walter White were the speakers. A chorus of fifty voices, directed by Mrs. Mary Austin rendered music. Robert G. Fields is president and Clifford I. Moat is secretary.

Anthony Brazil, an attorney of Pacific Grove was the speaker at the September 18 meeting of the **Monterey, California** branch. The **Des Moines, Iowa** branch had as its guest speaker September 20, A. A. Alexander, civil engineer and former president of the branch, who told of his recent trip to Haiti.

The opening fall meeting of the **Springfield, Mass.** branch was held September 5 at St. Johns Congregational church. Sidney Harris and Clarence B. Steere, coach and director respectively, of the Springfield American Legion baseball team were guests of honor. The Springfield branch led in the protest against disqualification of the Springfield Legion team in the national tournament because the star pitcher was a colored player.

Little Miss Marline Joyce Williams was the first prize winner in the baby contest conducted by the **El Paso, Tex.** branch. Second prize winner was little Miss Mella Jean Lucas. L. W. Washington is president of the branch.

Delegates from the **Monterey, Oakland, San Francisco** and **Stockton** branches met recently at San Mateo in celebration of the first anniversary of the organization of the Northern California Council of Branches. After a general discussion, it was decided to organize a council of junior members as well. L. S. Hawkins of the **San Francisco** branch spoke on Negro history. Discrimination and other topics were discussed. The main speaker of the evening session was J. J. McGrath. The Reverend W. E. Smith was elected president and Sidney Staton, secretary-treasurer. Other officers are: Reverend D. R. Wallace, vice-president; William H. Pettis, second vice-president; Mrs. M. Lloyd, third vice-president; and W. L. Gordon, legal advisor. The council pledged itself to organize new branches and revive dormant ones.

The **Council Bluffs, Iowa** branch has just completed a Queen's contest. Miss Tulsye Henderson as queen of Japan, brought in the largest sum of money and was crowned the queen of queens. Other contestants were: Mrs. Oline Harvey as queen of America; Miss Eddie Seals as queen of Sheba; Miss Corinthia Harvey as queen of England and Mrs. Givens as queen of France. Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson sponsored the contest.

The Manassas high school junior branch in **Memphis, Tenn.**, under the direction of Prof. A. B. Bland and Miss Emma Washington, instructors, began its sixth year of activities this fall with the annual election of officers. Election results were as follows: Miss Mary Horne, president; Urias Buckley, vice-president; Miss Jennie Lanier, secretary; Miss Lula Belle Matlock, corresponding secretary; Miss Martha Horne, treasurer. The Manassas branch is the largest junior branch in the South. During the past five years, its members have been more active than those of the senior branch. In 1931 the Manassas group sent a delegate to Pittsburgh, Pa. to the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. Last winter the branch was represented in the second annual membership campaign, conducted by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

The **New York** branch initiated its fall membership campaign at a tea Sunday, October 7, at the One Hundred Thirty-fifth Street Y.M.C.A. James E. Allen is president and Miss Wilhelmina Adams chairman of the entertainment committee.

Terre Haute, Ind. branch, in celebration of the silver jubilee of the association, staged a "Brown Skin Revue" on September 21 at the Hippodrome Theatre. The Revue was pronounced a decided success by local critics and all the performers came in for generous praise. The committee in charge consisted of Evangeline Harris, Daisy E. Hood, B. Ione Sloss and George M. Hollon.

Dr. J. H. Gillespie of New Castle, Pa. was elected president of the Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches.

Attorney George R. Brawley, Muncie, Pa., was the principal speaker of the **Henry County** (Pa.) branch on Sunday, September 16, at New Castle.

The first meeting of the year of the **Savannah, Ga.** branch was held September 9, at Bethel A. M. E. church.

Rahway, N. J. branch outlined plans for its fall and winter work at its meeting September 11, where vice-president Thomas Shell presided. Two new members were added at this meeting.

Dover, O. branch met September 10 and voted to observe Emancipation day, September 22 with the program at the First Baptist church. Sub-committees on membership, finance, members and publicity, legal redress and legislation, education, entertainment and junior work were named.

BOOK REVIEW

BLACK GOD by D. Manners-Sutton . . . Longmans Green and Co., New York. 299 pages, $2.50.

The author has set down, in this tale of M'Kato and his quest for revenge by the side of the Little River in the Belgian Congo, an accurate picture of the life and people in an African settlement. She has caught the very feeling of the place and its people and manages to transmit to the reader a sense of living with them in Chembi, the sprawling town on the river.

There is irony here and satire of a fine sort in the relating of the doings of blacks and whites. No patronizing laughing at the natives and their superstitions, nor yet any supercilious preachments of the white man. The Catholic priests, the Baptist missionary, the weak, but cunning witch doctor of the local tribe, the woman proprietor of the town's roadhouse, Flore, the lady of the evening, the natives and M'Kato himself, the inscrutable watcher by the river, are all sketched with deft strokes.

The story is that of M'Kato, who had his hands cut off at the wrists by a planter because he dared to oppose the taking of his sister by the boss. He is allowed to leave the slave plantation and, upon the advice of Kundi, renowned witch doctor, journeys to the bank of the Little River there to await his revenge against Humphrey Brown, the man who took his hands.

For twenty years M'Kato sits cross-legged on the bank and watches the people, black and white, come and go; watches the settlement of Chembi grow; sees the river boat in its fortnightly trip; notes the doings of white men; accepts with silence and skepticism the rosary of Father Domenique; and finally sees Humphrey Brown come to Little River and be killed by his own son in a quarrel over Flore, the golden haired prostitute.

But M'Kato and his story cannot obscure the Black Master, although this personage is only one of those who parade through Chembi, for the Black Master very nearly took command of Chembi, white folk and all. A handsome, educated, swaggering black giant, with his correct European attire, his smooth confident, even arrogant speech, and his assurance, the Black Master almost captured the government of Chembi—by sheer personality. How he was halted after he had caused the suicide of the governor and had taken up residence in the governor's mansion as the paramour of the governor's wife, is a story in itself—a story revealing that the author has done more than sneer at the so-called black arts of the jungle.

"Black God" is the Book-of-the-Month club selection for September, but even if it were not, it would be a tale which no book lover should miss.

—R. W.

ANNUAL SCHOLARSHIP BENEFIT

In order to renew the scholarship fund from which it makes annual awards to girls graduated from New York public high schools, the New York chapters of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority are holding their annual benefit dance November 6 at the Renaissance Hall, 138th street and Seventh avenue.

LETTERS *from* READERS

Cowards, Radicals and Colleges

Dear Sir: Langston Hughes' "Cowards from the Colleges," which appeared in the August issue of THE CRISIS, has gained more than an appropriate amount of publicity. In the hands of some it has become a scourge to drive out from the Negro college the last vestige of decency, morality, and virtue which still remains, and to usher in the new age of "Liberty and License." But to the thoughtful student of this generation it is just another effort by an immature thinker to confuse trivial with vital issues, and upon the basis of which to disseminate false and misleading conclusions. Mr. Hughes would have us believe that smoking, card playing, and dancing are necessary elements of college life. The college that ignores these three cardinal principles is not only hopelessly inefficient but definitely becomes a cradle for cowards. He insinuates that inasmuch as the Negro college does not produce a litter of radicals from year to year, it therefore fails to live up to the best traditions of its name. He further contends that the only hope of the Negro race lies in radical leadership. Every thinking man and woman who have the least regard for logic or history must deny these allegations. A brief analysis will serve to demonstrate the fallacies.

Are smoking, card playing, and dancing necessary elements of college life? College originally meant a group of men living and studying together with the common aim of advancing human knowledge. There was no time for socializing. Those who felt the urge for trivial entertainment never applied for admission. The business of the college was to encourage scholarship. Gradually colleges and universities attracted men and women seeking prestige rather than learning. Social activities crept into the unofficial program, but they were never recognized as legitimate elements of the college proper. Today the majority of American colleges and universities cater to these foreign elements to an extent unknown to their European ancestors. The fact that a few Negro colleges have stood out against these influences in defense of scholarship and morality, while the great majority of their neighbors have bowed the knee to Baal, is to be commended rather than condemned. The Negro college is too hard pressed in the struggle to live, grow, and serve the fundamental educational needs of a neglected race to waste its time and energy sponsoring trivial social activities.

To be sure, these forbidden pastimes are indulged in in spite of decrees from "old and mossbacked presidents," but they are not dignified by the official stamp of the college. Herein, counsels Mr. Hughes, lies the danger. "It produces a generation of cowards," cries the courageous poet. A coward is one who is afraid to commit a forbidden act. But Mr. Hughes admits that this is not the case with the Negro student; for the latter smokes, plays cards, and dances in such a manner as to prevent detection by the faculty. Is that cowardice? No! That is strategy. And strategy is an asset to any subject people. It has been the salvation of the Jew from Abraham's time to the present.

College was never intended to be a hotbed of radicalism. Radicals are needed to point the way to reforms, but they have never been found in colleges. It is well that this is so. Colleges must produce men and women trained in the best traditions of the past—men and women who are not willing to cast aside the old for the new until the new has been intelligently appraised. Radicals, like meteors, light up the whole horizon for a brief span, then fall to the earth inert and cold. The radical, John Brown, without the strategist, Abraham Lincoln, would have been as effective in destroying Negro slavery as a meteor would be in guiding a traveller along a mountain path on a stormy night.

Mr. Hughes goes beyond faulty reasoning and touches the borders of absurdity when he says, "To me it seems the day must come when we will not be proud of our Jim-crow centers built on the money docile and lying beggars have kidded white people into contributing." He would have the Negro feel ashamed of Hampton, Tuskegee, Fiske, and the host of other great institutions dedicated to the training of Negro youth. He would have him look with disdain upon the towering structures of Negro Y. M. C. A. buildings that stand as havens of rest in more than a dozen cities. He would have him curse the work of the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Urban League. Of what then would he have his race feel proud? Perhaps the Empire State Building, or the Brooklyn Bridge, or the fifty storied University of Pittsburgh. God forbid!

NICK AARON FORD,
Florida Normal College.
St. Augustine, Fla.

The Boycott Discussion

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—After reading Mr. George S. Schuyler's article in the September issue of THE CRISIS it is difficult for one who has witnessed the procedure and effects of the "buying power" boycott in Chicago to remain at ease. The accompanying account by Mr. Vere E. Johns could be understood and discounted, for clearly it has been written by an enthusiastic advocate. But Mr. Schuyler assumes the atmosphere of a critic claiming objectivity; and in so far as he does this he is misleading.

One important concept dominates the entire writing, that is, reprisal. "In only one city, Chicago," the author declares, "have these militant tactics been conspicuously successful, and there it is reported that more Negroes lost jobs *outside* the colored section than won jobs *inside* it." Certainly if the latter statement were true there will be no necessity for trying to synchronize the birth of the boycott with the date of its christening and for attempting to prove this most dreaded instrument of economic and social struggle "a deadly boomerang." Probably a more effective procedure will be to work on the case in hand. Let us hold Mr. Schuyler to this point.

In 1932 the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago became interested in the attempt of Negroes to use the boycott as a means of securing employment. It made a detailed study of every phase of the campaign; and now has in its library a manuscript of some 175 pages, the most important existing record of the Chicago boycott. In answer to this vital question of reprisal by white employers located outside the Negro community not a single case could be discovered. The author of this study writes: "after considering all the available data bearing upon the number of placements made because of the movement, we have concluded that the total number of jobs created was approximately 1,500." These are not domestic service and manual labor jobs which are so characteristic of Negro employment, but rather those of salespeople and managers of stores—indeed positions calculated to give Negroes that necessary business orientation, the lack of which Mr. Schuyler so lamentably deplores.

Let us conclude that unless Mr. Schuyler backs up his affirmation of reprisal by factual data his article must be categorized as a mystical rationalization based upon a personal fear of

reprisal. We do not assume here the rôle of prophet and say that reaction among whites is forever impossible whenever and by whomever the boycott is applied; but only that in Chicago, where the movement has been studied, there has been found no reprisal.

JACK J. OVINGTON

Chicago, Ill.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I am glad the question of the boycott is again taking headlines, for it seems to me to involve something broader than the matter of getting a few jobs. The articles of both Mr. Johns and Mr. Schuyler seem to designate the boycott as a struggle between whites and blacks, with Mr. Schuyler giving especial emphasis to the latter interpretation. Yet very few social boycotts are thus dichotomously fought, e. g., the East Indian boycott of English goods (Mr. Schuyler notwithstanding) has been invigorated by the Western press, while the Jews are depending upon favorable non-Jewish reactions both in Germany and abroad for support of their boycott. Indeed it has been said, with some degree of truth, that the Negroes' greatest struggle against the plantation system of the white South has been really a bloody war between two white groups.

If we look carefully into this "fight" about which Mr. Schuyler admonishes us, we shall see that it is essentially one between blacks and blacks. It started in Chicago when, in May, 1929, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. wrote, among other things: "We found that . . . they (Negroes) did not have the confidence of their *own race* which our white agents inspired. . ." Arguments corroborating the latter were made by different employers during the Chicago campaign, and the leaders of that movement found many actual supporting cases. Through a clever bit of editorial strategy a Chicago newspaper worked upon the business of creating counteracting public opinion until Negroes of the community came to *believe* that their own people had the capacity to do the work that was sought.

When self-confidence was somewhat established, jobs opened up almost automatically. Indeed, when the establishments did "capitulate," they seem happy to realize that Negroes would still patronize them in spite of their colored employees. A proper discussion of this cultural condition of the race must be left to the trained sociologist; I am convinced, however, that if Mr. Schuyler, in his effort to establish consumers cooperation by Negroes for Negroes, has not yet been confronted with this want of confidence within the group, he will soon find it great enough to threaten the very foundations of his plans. We need not expect very much retaliation in this sort of "fight"; it is in reality a group fighting against itself and using convenient auto-suggestions to conquer its own self-distrust. The sandwich signs, the street corner orations, and the newspaper fulminations are merely the ritualistic counterpart of a subjective wish of the group to develop self-reliance.

NATHANIAL HENDERSON

Chicago, Ill.

That McClendon Article

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I have read with interest Mr. McClendon's article "Which College—White or Negro" and will venture a few words by way of reply as I have attended white universities.

How does Mr. McClendon arrive at the opinion that the "Negro's means of livelihood depends upon his race?" Even our professional men such as doctors and lawyers are largely supported by the money which their colored clients earn from white employers. Where would the Negroes "economic survival" be if every dollar which Negroes earn from white employers were suddenly cut off? The fact remains, unpleasant though it often is, we are living in a white man's world and it is as much to our advantage to know something about that white man as to know about the Negro. One of the best places to learn about this white man and how to work with him is in a white college.

In order to illustrate his point Mr. McClendon picks out an exceptional character, "John Green." A person who has attended white colleges which permit Negroes to enroll knows that all colored students are not "brilliant," "handsome," or athletic. Any one who combines these three qualities is in a class by himself. It is true that the Negro student in a white college meets with discrimination, but to infer that all Negroes in white colleges go through the experience of the mythical "John Green" is far fetched to say the least.

Those conversant with conditions in a mixed school know that there are plenty of instances of Negro students forming lasting friendships with white students. There were also, as far as I could observe, very few instances of Negroes continually avoiding members of their own race in library, class room and cafeteria.

I wonder why Mr. McClendon comes to the conclusion that all Negro college graduates must teach? I have heard of Negro doctors, lawyers, electrical engineers, architects and chemists coming from white colleges many of whom, contrary to his inference, are following a successful career.

However to follow the picture through "John Green" cannot adjust himself to the alien South and finally returns to the North and becomes a red cap. Would Mr. McClendon have us believe that a large percentage of colored graduates of white colleges fail to adjust themselves satisfactorily and are forced to work at menial tasks? Would he also have us believe that all colored graduates of Negro colleges march forward to a successful career?

In some sections of our country the Negro college is the only institution of higher learning open to a colored student. His training will be very much better than that obtained in such schools in former years but it cannot equal that afforded by the larger white institutions. However as far as affording social contacts is concerned the Negro college is unquestionably superior to the white college. There is no desire to convey the impression that the Negro college does not prepare colored youth for life. In spite of handicaps, they have done and are doing a magnificent work.

Perhaps least among the reasons for Negroes attending white colleges is the fact that white students have first hand evidence that Negroes can compete with them in the class room, on the athletic field and forensic platform and this has some weight in breaking down prejudice and the white man's claims of superiority of race.

Mr. McClendon well states "Would that we could truthfully say that we are Americans first and Negroes next," but as long as we maintain and advocate a segregated educational system we are postponing attainment of that idealistic goal.

H. C. JENKINS

St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Accept congratulations on the September CRISIS which is before me.

ANNA J. COOPER

Washington, D. C.

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